



ARCHAEOLOGICAL SURVEY OF INDIA

# EPIGRAPHIA INDICA

ARABIC AND PERSIAN SUPPLEMENT

(In continuation of the series Epigraphia Indo-Moslemica)

2011



EDITED BY  
**Dr. G. S. KHWAJA**  
Director Incharge (Epigraphy)



प्रलकीर्तिमपावृणु

PUBLISHED BY  
**THE DIRECTOR GENERAL**  
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## P R E F A C E

It is an occasion of great pleasure for the historians and linguists interested in Perso-Arabic Epigraphy in particular and academic circles in general that a special issue of *Epigraphia Indica-Arabic and Persian Supplement* is being published this year to mark the 150<sup>th</sup> year celebration of Archaeological Survey of India. In other words this departmental research journal devoted to critical examination and editing of Arabic and Persian inscriptions, the publication of which could not be maintained with its set periodicity for some genuine reasons, is being revived as is being done in case of *Epigraphia Indica* and *Ancient India*.

There was a constant pressure on the Office of the Director Epigraphy for Arabic and Persian Inscriptions, Nagpur, to bring out the journal which has a backlog of many issues. In fact when Dr. Z.A.Desai retired from the post of the Director Epigraphy in 1983 he had left a backlog of nearly 10 issues; as he edited the number of 1975 in 1984. Mr. N.M. Ganam, Superintending Epigraphist, edited two issues that of 1976 and 1977 which were published after his retirement in late nineties. After that a real dearth of Perso-Arabic epigraphist was felt in this field and as a result a backlog of many issues came to fore. This *Supplement* was wholly depending upon the epigraphists working in the Epigraphy Branch or out side scholars from universities, museums, state department of archaeology etc.

The Epigraphy Branch of ASI at Nagpur has meticulously gathered estampages/photographs of nearly 15000 stone inscriptions out of which only about 2000 odd are published on the pages of *EIM* or *ELAPS*. Rest of the lot is though deciphered and noticed in the respective *Annual Reports on Indian Epigraphy*- these all may not be worth editing- but still there is a great number of historically important epigraphs which need to be given a chance to see the day of light in a published form because many young scholars may make use of the data stored in it. The question remains that where those contributors will come from for critically examining and editing these epigraphs. It will be the priority of this branch after the publication of this issue that henceforth the periodicity of the journal is maintained. In my view there is no

option except the training or capacity building among the available souls irrespective of their meagre number or experience.

In near past the discipline of Perso-Arabic epigraphy has lost Dr. Z.A.Desai, N.M.Ganam, Dr. M.I.Quddusi and Mr. S.S.Hussain. With the profound memories, sincere tributes to the departed souls and caprice of a new beginning this special issue of *Epigraphia Indica-Arabic and Persian Supplement 2011* is being put before the scholarly world.

It contains articles on 32 historically important Persian epigraphs from Rajasthan, Madhya Pradesh, Haryana, Punjab, West Bengal, Karnataka and Tamil Nadu which, I am sure, will add some important pieces of information in the medieval history of India.

I hope publication of this issue will be a good omen for the development of Epigraphy.

-Editor

# INSCRIPTIONS OF SHAH JAHAN FROM RAJASTHAN

By Dr. Z.A. Desai

I propose to edit in this article, from photographs, kindly supplied by the Superintending Epigraphist, Archaeological Survey of India, Epigraphy Branch, Nagpur, of 23 inscriptions set up in the reign of the Mughal emperor Shihābu'd-Dīn Muḥammad Shāh Jahān Bādshāh Ṣāhib Qirān-i-Thānī (1628-1658) and ranging in their dates from A. H. 1041 (1631-32) and A. H. 1067 (1656-57) from Bharatpūr, Jodhpūr, Kota, Nāgaur and Tonk districts of Rājasthān copied over a period of about four decades. Except perhaps for one (No.II), which was first noticed by A.C.L. Carlleyle, more than a century back <sup>1</sup>, all the inscriptions are noticed here for the first time. As a matter of fact, the credit of first bringing these epigraphs to the notice of the Office of the Superintending Archaeologist (of which I was in-charge then) goes to Shri N.M. Ganam, then Exploration Assistant of the Western Circle, Baroda (now Vadodara Circle, Vadodara) - who later on rose to become the Superintending Epigraphist for Persian and Arabic Inscriptions, Nāgpūr – when he was posted in the late fifties in Jodhpur District; the then Superintendent (now Superintending Archaeologist) of the Western Circle forwarded the impressions of all the inscriptions copied by him to the Government Epigraphist of India, Ootacamund (now Director (Epigraphy), Mysore) who forwarded those Persian and Arabic inscriptions to the Office of the Superintending Epigraphist, Nāgpūr, in the early sixties. These were subsequently listed in the *Annual Reports on Indian Epigraphy*. After this, I myself as Superintending Epigraphist for Persian and Arabic inscriptions visited Rājasthān, twice or so in the company of Mr. Ganam, still then working under the Western Circle and later on, separately. A majority of the inscriptions studied in the following lines forms part of this collection, while some of them (Nos. II, V, VII, VIII, XIII, XIV, XV, XVI, XVII) were copied by the members of the staff of the Nāgpūr Epigraphy office.

Of the twenty three inscriptions studied here, as many as 12 (Nos. III, IV, V, VIII, IX, XI, XII, XVII, XIX, XXI, XXII, XXIII) pertain to either congregational (Jāmi'), ordinary or one-wall (*Qanāṭī*) mosques, one (No.XX) to an 'Īdgāh, one (No.X) very probably to a tomb, one (No.XVI) to the pinnacle (*kalash*) of the tomb of a saint,

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1. A.C.L. Carlleyle, 'Report of a Tour in Eastern Rajputana in 1871-72 under the supervision of General A. Cunningham', *Archaeological Survey of India Reports*, vol. VI (Calcutta, 1878), p.127.



two (Nos. VII, XIII) to the (digging and) construction of a well, two with (Nos. XV, XVIII) the same purport, along with founding a village; one (No. XIV)-obviously belonging to a well – forbidding people of inferior caste from among Hindus and Muslims to use water from the well, one (No. I) referring to a bastion (*burj*), as also the tank which it overlooks and one to a swing, one (II) to a platform (*chabūṭara*) and one (No. VI) to a cenotaph (*chhatrī*).

All these epigraphs are in Persian, a few with Arabic religious texts like First or Second Creeds, Quranic verses or saying of the holy Prophet Muḥammad. Four of them (Nos. II, X, XII, XX) are metrical records, but the quality of verses in three of them (Nos. II, XII, XX) is mediocre, the composer having no idea of prosody or metre, while the fourth (No. X), a record of two couplets, at least conforms to metre and proper rhyme. In none of these, the composers' name finds mention, though in one (No. XX), the builder of the mosque Farāsat appears to claim credit for the composition of text.

Then again, three of these records (Nos. VI, XV, XVIII) have Sanskrit or local dialect versions in *Nāgarī* characters. It may be noted that these *Nāgarī* versions appear to be a little more detailed but unfortunately they do not seem to have been completely deciphered and noticed as will be mentioned in their proper place. The *Nāgarī* counterpart of one of these (XVI) has been, like the Persian text, completely chiselled off.

The calligraphy of these inscriptions also has nothing special about it. All of them except one, which is in *Naskh* with *Riqā'* flourishes are executed in *Nasta'liq* script; the Arabic text in a few of these is executed in *Naskh*. Surprisingly, unlike some inscriptions of Akbar from Rājasthān, the *Nasta'liq* calligraphy of most of these records can be termed without any fear of contradiction to be poor on the whole. At the most, only half a dozen or so (Nos. I, IV, IX, X, XI, XII, XIV) may be classed among somewhat good *Nasta'liq*, while two (Nos. II, VIII), fairish; the rest are ordinary to crudish. At least four records contain the name of the scribes [Bitt]hal Dās *Kātib* Gwāliyarī (No. II), 'Ārif Muḥammad (No. VI), 'Abdu'r-Raḥīm son of Qādī 'Imād (No. IX) and Qādī 'Abdu'l- ....(part of the name lost, No. XXI).

But these epigraphs are of sufficient historical interest from more than one point of view. That the Mughal suzerainty was acknowledged by the local Sisodiā chiefs of Mewār and Rāthod rulers of Mār wār, the regions in which these epigraphs dated in the reign of the Mughal emperor are found, is as obvious as it is an acknowledged fact. A local chief of Mār wār, namely Mahārāja Jaswant Singh (Nos. VI, XX) finds mention along with the name of the Mughal emperor under whom he had title to permanent fief

(*waṭan*). In one more inscription (No.XXIII), another chief of Mārṡār, Rāja Sūrāj Singh, finds mention in connection with Merta city in his estate reverting to crown lands upon his death.

But more than that, some of these inscriptions are important sources for local history as also for giving a little more information about some local Mughal officials or governors than is generally available. Among the nobles of high rank and governors, Sayyid Khān Jahān is the only one to find mention in the inscription from Toda Rāi Singh (No.II). Another official of note who had his fief in Sir Mathura region of modern Dholpur District is Bāqī Khān (No.XII). One Abū Muḥammad ‘Imād Murtaḍākhānī (No.XXIII) – as the *nisba* ‘Murtaḍākhānī’ appended to his name suggests was attached to or in other words was a retainer of Murtaḍā Khān by whom evidently Sayyid Nizām entitled Murtaḍā Khān, son of the famous Mīr ‘Adl and *manṣab*-holder of Akbar’s period Ṣadr-i-Jahān of Pihānī is meant. Abū Muḥammad seems to have been stationed at Merta which was in the fief of Murtaḍā Khān. One Pahād Khān finds mention in as many as three inscriptions (Nos.XV, XVI, XVIII), from Gunaoti and Barī Khātū in Nāgaur district, as having constructed a well and a village in the former place and made the pinnacle (*kalash*) of the dome of the tomb of Shāh Samman at Barī Khātū; this means that he was stationed there in some official capacity. Among such other officials are Farāsāt and Miṣrī son of Bahādur Khān, Ḥasan Baig, Mīrzā ‘Alī Baig, and Sayyid Qāsim son of Sayyid ‘Uthmān (who was very probably a Sayyid of Bārha clan) among *manṣabdārs* or retainers, and Kunj Bihārī and Purkhottam (i.e. Purshottam) and Samarth (?), the ‘*Āmils* (Agents) and Yār Baig, the *Kotwāl*. The inscriptions dated as they are, furnish information about the definite dates in the career of these *manṣab* holders, retainers and officials which, even if they find mention we normally do not come across in historical works. Among other persons mentioned therein without any official designation or connection are Ishāq son of Mullā Ṭāhir Multānī i.e. from Multān by origin if not by birth (No.III); Jānshah son of Ādam son of Jumesshah of the Chauhān community (No. IX) – the names of these three generations of the local converts from the Chauhān Rājput tribe are interesting in themselves ; Sayyid Ḥakīm (No.X) ; Shaikh Chānd son of Shāh Muḥammad (No.XI) ; Ghulām Ḥusain son of Muḥammad Ḥusain whose *nisba* appears to be Sīstānī, i.e. from Sīstān, now in eastern Iran, by origin if not by birth (No.XIII); Fīrūshah – ‘Fīrū’ part of the name also written Pherū is a corrupt form of Fīrūz son of ‘Alāwal with surname Rāthod

– another convert from the Rāthod Rājput tribe (No.XXI); and Miyān Sundar, who constructed a mosque (No.XXII). A saintly person Shaikh Tāj Majdhūb (No. XXIII) is also mentioned as having come to Merta City along with above-mentioned Abū Muḥammad ‘Imād Murtaḍākhānī who might have been his admirer and very probably his disciple.

Apart from political and administrative information, some of these records furnish some information on other aspects of the local living manners and social habits. That people were by and large religious-minded can be asserted from the social and economic status of the builders mentioned in the inscriptions. Also worth mention in this connection is prevalent class prejudice among the local, particularly rural population, as attested to by the inscription (No.XIV) forbidding men of low caste from drinking water from a well along with men of higher class or status, both Muslims and Hindus. Again, the cost of construction given in at least one record (No.VI) gives an idea of the economic condition in the region.

Unfortunately, majority of these inscriptions have suffered varying degrees of damage due to exposure to weather as well as, at least in one case (No.XIII), vandal. The last-mentioned, a bilingual one, has been totally chiselled off in the aftermath of the partition of the country in 1948 in the Bharatpur region. As a result, decipherment has been difficult and also in a few cases, some portion could not be read.

The letters in relief in the Persian version of another bilingual inscription (No.VI) have been somewhat worn out, rendering it difficult to decipher the record completely and satisfactorily. As a result, its exact purport, as well as the correct name of a local official could not be properly made out. Unfortunately, the *Nāgarī* version of this record, which is incised and somewhat better preserved has not been deciphered satisfactorily; had it been done, not only the exact purport and the name of the official mentioned in the Persian version would have been available, but very likely it would have furnished some additional important information.

Looking to the way in which the inscriptions have been engraved, it appears that the stone-carver had to carve out on the stone the text which was outlined on the stone itself or from a copy given to him. This has resulted in a spelling mistakes here or there.

It is hoped that the following study will furnish a welcome source-material for the political as well as social history of Rājasthān during Shāh Jahan’s time.

With these preliminary remarks summarizing the nature and importance of these records, they are studied in detail in the following pages having a bearing on regional history.



### Inscription No.I from Dig

Dīg, pronounced as Deeg, 27° 25' lat. and 77° 15' long., in Bharatpūr district of Rājasthān, an 18<sup>th</sup> century stronghold of the Rājput Jāt rulers, is a comparatively less known place of tourist interest with picturesque garden-*cum*-water-palaces. It is located at a distance of about 100 kilometres from Agra and can be easily approached by road. It was founded as the headquarters of the Jāt chieftdom by the first Jāt chief Badan Singh (1722-56). His son and successor and the greatest of his time, Sūraj Mal (1756-63), who had made Bharatpūr his capital, had adorned Dīg with buildings and resorts, as is poetically described by his court-poet Somnāth. These include Gopāl Bhavan near which the inscription under study is to be found.<sup>1</sup>

In front of the Gopāl Bhavan, there is a railed terrace resting on small narrow arches which carries an arch of lustrous marble, called Hindolā or Swing, installed on the pedestal of the same material. In this marble pedestal which is adorned with *pietra dura* work, is fixed a tablet inscribed with a Persian couplet in two lines – each of the two hemistiches written in a lozenge-shaped panel with trifoiled ends, one above the other, and the Hijra year as well as the regnal year in figure above and below the writing in the second panel.<sup>2</sup> The Hindolā is described as being in fact the arcuate frame of the actual swing, which was to be suspended through two central rings from the top.

The inscription comprising one Persian couplet is invocatory in purport. It invokes prayers for “this lofty auspicious bastion” *īn humāyūn-burj-i-‘ālī* – to remain immune from the calamity of decline for ever like the good fortune of this king with an army of Jamshīd-like soldiers. Though this brief inscription does not explicitly mention the name of the king, he is evidently none other than the Mughal emperor Shāh Jahān, as the record is dated 4<sup>th</sup> regnal year, 1041 Hijra.<sup>3</sup> The Hindolā itself evidently does not have anything to do with the inscription nor does the marble tablet belong to the swing or for that purpose to any building in Dīg itself, which is dated a little less than a century prior to the date of the foundation and population of the town. And since the

- 
1. For details and a brief account of the history and monuments of Dīg, see M.C. Joshi, *Dig*, second edition, Archaeological Survey of India Guide-Book Series (New Delhi, 1971). Also see K. K. Sehegal, ed., *Rajasthan District Gazetteers, Bharatpur* (Jaipur, 1971), pp.482-85; *The Imperial Gazetteer of India*, vol. XI (Oxford, 1908), pp. 343-44; etc.
  2. *Annual Report on Indian Epigraphy (AREp.)*, 1966-67, App.D, No.183; Z. A. Desai, *Published Muslim Inscriptions of Rājasthān (PMIR)*, (Jaipur, 1971), No.223.
  3. Shāh Jahān’s official date of accession to the throne is 1<sup>st</sup> Jumādā II, 1037 (28 January, 1628 A.D.). Therefore the 4<sup>th</sup> regnal year would cover only first half of the Hijra year 1041 (20 July –14 December, 1631 A.D.).



inscription belongs to Shāh Jahān's reign, it evidently belonged to a Mughal structure, probably, from the then capital city of Āgra. It may be noted that the swing itself is reported to have been removed from the Phulhārī palace at Weir near Bayāna and set up in its present place some time during the third quarter of the last century.<sup>1</sup>

It might have formed part of the war spoils of the Mughal palaces of Āgra but not of Delhi as stated by almost all the modern scholars including Mr. Joshi,<sup>2</sup> since the Delhi Red Fort and the royal palace-complex buildings were constructed at least about two decades later than the date of the inscription under study. It is also difficult to say beyond any shadow of doubt if the tablet came from Āgra or elsewhere or from which particular edifice. *Burj* is an Arabic word meaning a 'tower, a dove-cote, a star-constellation, the station of a planet, a sign of the zodiac,' etc. But it is generally used, in the context of a tower or bastion of a fortified place. The Muthamman-Burj of the royal palace-complexes at Delhi and Āgra are well-known. The 'Bastion' referred to in the inscription may well be the one of the Āgra Red Fort.

The style of writing of the inscription is *Nasta'liq* of a fairly high order. The actual size of the writing of the inscription, edited from a photograph could not be ascertained.

#### TEXT

##### *Plate I(a)*

(۱) دایما چون دولت این پادشاه جم سپاه

(۲) سنه هجری ۱۰۴۱

(۳) این همایوں برج عالی باد از آفت بی زوال

(۴) سنه جلوس مبارک ۴

#### TRANSLATION

(1) For ever, like the good fortune of this king with (an army of) Jamshīd-like soldiers,

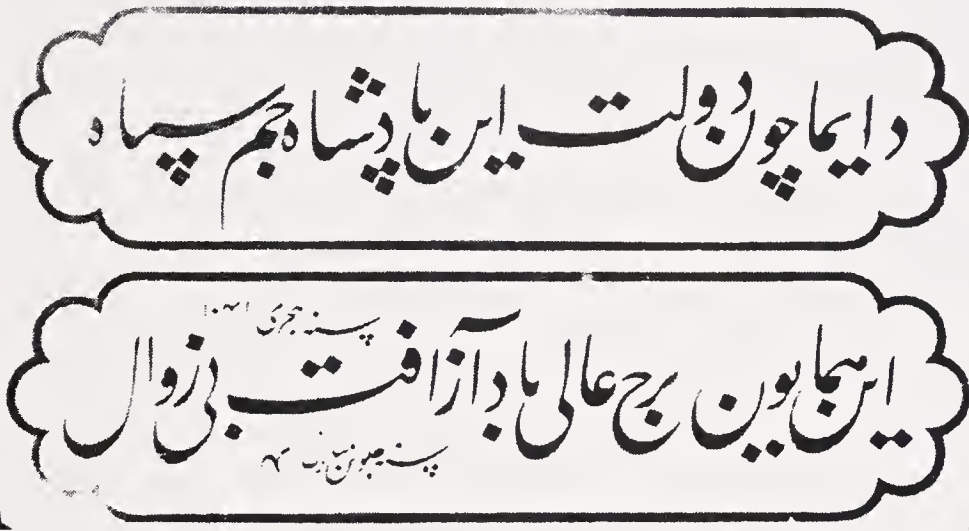
(2) Year Hijra 1041

(3) May this auspicious lofty tower remain immune from the calamity !

(4) Year of auspicious accession 4.

1. Joshi, *op.cit.*, pp.17-18.

2. *Ibid.*, p.18; Sehegal, *op.cit.*, p.482.



(a) Inscription from Dig, p.6

بدو رشا جهان مادرشاه نمودیرد افست  
برکت بمل شید خان جهان جوهر بست  
بان شاه که سد عالمیست موجد  
از حضرت یک الف سالی چیل شش بود  
بدو رشا و دنانسکا

(b) Inscription from Toda Rāisingh, p.7



As stated above, the part of the Hijrī 1041 falling in regnal year 4, corresponds to 20 July – 14 December 1631 A.D.

### **Inscription No.II from Toda Rāisingh**

This inscription is inscribed on a slab which is reported to have been lying loose in the custodian's office at Toda Rāisingh in the Mālpūr sub-division of the Tonk district of Rājasthān.<sup>1</sup> Toda Rāi Sigh, originally Toda,<sup>2</sup> is now so called to distinguish it from another place of the same name, Toda Bhīm, which latter place is situated at a distance of 30 kilometres east of Jaipūr, the capital of the erstwhile state of the same name.<sup>3</sup> It is situated at a distance of about 40 kilometres south-south-east of the tahsīl headquarters Mālpūra and same distance west-south-west of the district headquarters Tonk.<sup>4</sup>

The inscription had come to the notice of Mr. A.C.L. Carlleyle, an official of the Archaeological Survey of India in the course of a tour he made under the superintendence of Major General Cunningham during 1871-73. According to him, the epigraphical tablet which originally belonged to some mosque was found under a tree with *sendur* or red lead applied on it, and "is now built up into the wall of the Thana at Thoda". He also gives a copy and translation of the epigraph.<sup>5</sup> This is totally incorrect as far as its being originally from a mosque is concerned. Carlleyle was misled by the wrong reading of the text supplied to or obtained by him, as will be seen a little later. The text of the epigraph records the construction of a *chabūtara* during the time of the Mughal emperor Shāh Jahān and gives the names of the governor and the builder who was evidently a local official. Thus, the inscriptional tablet belonged not to any mosque, but to a part of the local administrative office building, in all probability the Kotwāl's *chabūtara* (lit. platform).

- 
1. *AREp.*, 1960-61, No.D, 216; *PMIR*, No.516.
  2. The name Toda Rāi Singh seems to have been given very recently. It is recorded as Thoda by Carlleyle, *op.cit.*, following Tod's *Annals of Rajasthan* and as Toda in Constables's *Hand Atlas of India* (West Minister 1893, Map No.27,B,G). Also, under the erstwhile Tonk state, it was referred to as Toda-Tonk to distinguish it from Toda Bhīm. See Principal Shapurji Hormusji Hodiwada, *Studies in Indo-Muslim History* (Bombay, 1939),p.675.
  3. Carlleyle, *op.cit.*, p.127.
  4. For a brief history and places of interest of the town, see *ibid.*,pp.126-27; Maya Ram, ed., *Rajasthan District Gazetteers, Tonk* (Jaipur, 1970),pp.301-02, which mentions Lalla Pathan's fort on the hills, the picturesque Hadirani Kund and two step-wells built in 1659 and 1661 but is silent about any inscription on these or elsewhere.
  5. Carlleyle, *op.cit.*



The tablet measures 45 by 35 cm. and contains a record, comprising two Persian couplets, which assigns the construction of a *chabūtara* to one Barakat during the governorship (‘*amal*’) of Sayyid *Khān* Jahān in the year one thousand and fortysix from the Migration of Ḥaḍrat [Muḥammad]. This is followed by a line in Persian prose in a smaller hand. On the face of it, the slab appears to be in a fairly good state of preservation and almost all the letters of the writing are quite sharp except in the last line where the few letters in the beginning and the end of the name as indicated in the Persian text quoted below seem to have flaked off, with the result that the full name and designation, if any, of the person concerned cannot be made out with certainty. But it may be Vitthal Dās Kāyasth, as will be discussed a little later on.

The quality of verse is mediocre, the composer not being fully conversant with the language as is clear from the use of the verb *pardākht namūd* in line 1 or *ba-ān-shām* meaning ‘in that evening’ (if the words are correctly engraved) which is probably intended for *ba-ān-sāl* meaning ‘in that year’ (should be *ān-sāl* ‘that year’), the spelling *ḥaḍrat* (His Holiness) for *hijrat* (Migration of the Holy Prophet) and *shud‘imārati maujūd*, meaning ‘the building came into existence’ in line 3 and the word *sāli* meaning ‘a year’ in the same line. In contrast, the calligraphy is fairly good *Nasta‘līq* but here again it is observed that in one place, the letter *be* (or *pe*) in line 1 and *chabūtara* in line two are written without dot or dots and in two places the undotted letter *sīn* in ‘Sayyid’ (line 2), and in *dās* (line 5) has been written as *shīn* with three dots, and *hijrat* has been written as *ḥaḍrat* as already pointed out.

In Carlleyle’s reading the last line gives the designation and *nisba* of the person mentioned as ‘Kātib Gwāliyarī’ ‘a scribe from or of Gwalior’. This would naturally be taken to mean that the person concerned was the scribe or the calligrapher of this epigraph. In the photograph before me, only the letters ‘kā’ of the so-called ‘kātib’ is to be seen; the remaining part of the word and the *nisba* Gwāliyarī (i.e. of Gwalior) are missing. Therefore, it is difficult to accept without any reservation Carlleyle’s reading of the designation as well as *nisba* of the said person, as it has been found that the readings of inscriptions in the Archaeological Survey Reports of Cunningham have been found in most cases to be defective and misleading. As a matter of fact, I am inclined to suggest that the word originally inscribed on the stone was not that indicating his designation or profession, that is to say Kā[tib] but Kā[yath] i.e. Kāyasth, his community – name. I also venture to hazard a guess that the missing letters in the beginning are ‘*al-‘abd Bitt*’, which would give the name in question as ‘Bitthal Dās son of Thān Singh Kāyasth [Gawāliyarī].

The text of the inscription reads as under :

TEXT

Plate I(b)

- (۱) بدورشاه جہاں بادشاہ نمود پرداخت  
 (۲) برکت بعمل شید خان جہان چہوترہ ساخت  
 (۳) بان شام کہ شد عمارتے موجود  
 (۴) ز حضرت یک الف سالی چہل شش بود  
 (۵) العبد تھلد اس ولد تھاننگہ کا [بیتھ گوالیری]

TRANSLATION

- (1) In the reign of Shāh Jahān the king, this was made.  
 (2) Barakat constructed a *chabūtara* (platform) during the governorship (‘*amal*’) of Sayyid Khān Jahān.  
 (3) And that evening (sic., year ?) when the edifice came into being  
 (4) From his Holiness (sic., Migration of the Holy Prophet), it was one thousand years and fortysix (A.H. 1046 = 1636-37 A.D.).  
 (5) The slave [Bitth- ?] al-Dāsh (sic., al-Dās) son of Thān Singh K[āyath i.e. Kāyasth] [Gwāliyarī (i.e. of Gwalior)].<sup>7</sup>

As stated above, in the last line a few letters indicating the first part of the name and the profession or community-name have flaked off and Mr. Carlleyle reads the

- 
1. Should be سید.
  2. Carlleyle, *op.cit.*, reads ‘Jauhar’.
  3. Sic. Very probably, آں سال.
  4. Hijrat (Migration) thus spelt.
  5. Carlleyle, *op.cit.*, reads ہالہل داس ‘Halhal Das’.
  6. Carlleyle, *op.cit.*, reads ‘Kātib Gwāliyarī’ “Scribe, of Gwalior”.
  7. Carlleyle’s translation is as under :

“In the time of Shah Jahan Badshah, the manifestation of whose appearance in this place was effected through the auspicious good fortune of Sayyad Khan Jahan in the year when this building was constructed, namely, Hazrat 1046”.

He omits the last line in text as well as translation.

same as Halhal Dās Kātib (i.e. scribe or calligrapher) Gwāliyarī (i.e. of Gwalior). About the word denoting the community or profession, it has been suggested above that the word is probably Kāyath or Kāyasth and not Kātib. Also, the name Halhal Dās sounds quite unusual; I have not met with it so far. I am inclined to think that the name originally inscribed as Bitthal Dās and not Halhal Dās. It is a well-known fact that the Kāyasths by and large headed the administrative departments of the establishments of great Mughal *amīrs* and *manṣabdārs* like Shaikh Farīd Murtaḍā Khān Bukhārī, Afdal Khān, the Shāh Jahān's Prime Minister, and the like. They also worked as clerks, accountants, etc.<sup>1</sup> Very likely, this man Bitthal-Dās or whatever his correct name may have been, was working in the establishment of Sayyid Khān Jahān. This is indirectly corroborated by the fact that he probably belonged to Gwalior which was in the fief of Sayyid Khān Jahān for quite some time.

Sayyid Khān Jahān was, after Sayyid Mahmūd Bārha of Akbar's time, the greatest Bārha Sayyid to serve under the Mughals. He is ranked next to Sa'dullāh Khān, the Prime Minister of Shāh Jahān, by the contemporary Shaikh Farīd Bhakkārī, the author of the *Dhakhīratu'l-Khawānīn*, a biographical dictionary of the Mughal *amīrs* of Akbar, Jahāngīr and Shāh Jahān. His name was Muzaffar and he belonged to the Tihanpūrī Branch of the Bārha Sayyids, whose chief town was Jansath in Muzaffarnagar district of the present Uttar Pradesh.<sup>2</sup> He distinguished himself in the Deccan expedition of Prince Khurram (later on Shāh Jahān) in the 15<sup>th</sup> regnal year of Jahāngīr (1621 A.D.) and the prince was greatly impressed by his bravery and devotion. He had accompanied Shāh Jahān everywhere during his wanderings from Deccan to Orissa, Bengāl, Jaunpūr, Gujarāt, Sind and back to Deccan, when the latter chose to separate from his father Jahāngīr and he had rendered great services in the battle against the Bengāl governor Ibrāhīm Khān Fath Jang. By his bravery, devotion, and loyalty, he had endeared himself to Shāh Jahān who left him along with Khidmat-parast Khān in charge of his seraglio and infant son Murād Bakhsh, in the course of his wanderings, in

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1. By virtue of the nature of their work, they wielded great power and in most cases the noblemen whom they served were entirely dependent upon them. About Afdal Khān, it is said that he had entrusted everything pertaining to his establishment to his secretary Dayānat Rāi so much so that in the elite circle, it was being sarcastically said that when the angels Munkir and Nakīr would ask him in his grave as to who was his god and prophet and *imān* and what was his religion, he would simply say, "ask Dayānat Khān" (Shaikh Farīd Bhakkārī, *Dhakhīratu'l-Khawānīn*, vol. II, Karachi 1970, p.256).
  2. For a detailed history of the Bārha Sayyids throughout the area, see Khān Bahādūr Muzaffar 'Alī Khān, *Ansābu's-Sādāt al-ma'rūf ba-Tārīkh-i-Sādāt-i-Bārha*, Lahore, 1987/1407 A.H.



Rohtās Fort. After his accession, Shāh Jahān bestowed upon him a rank of 4,000/3,000, a standard, a drum and a horse from the royal stable, with a gilded saddle and an *in‘ām* of one lac rupees and appointed him governor of Gwalior fort and granted its dependencies in his fief which he held until he died on 22<sup>nd</sup> Shawwāl A.H. 1055 (1<sup>st</sup> December, 1645 A.D.). He rendered great services in various campaigns against Jujhār Singh Bundela, Khān Jahān Lodī, Nizāmu’l-Mulk and ‘Ādil Shāh in the Deccan, etc., receiving from time to time increase in *manṣabs*, awards and gifts. He rose to hold a *manṣab* of 6,000 *dhāt* and 6,000 *sawār* of which all 6,000 *sawārs* were *do-aspa seh-aspa*.<sup>1</sup> About Barakat nothing is known. He seems to have been the *kotwāl* of the town.

### Inscription No.III from Nāgaur

This epigraph comes from Nāgaur, a district headquarters, and one time capital of the Khānzāda chiefs who ruled over the principality in the 15<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>2</sup> Nāgaur is very rich in Arabic and Persian inscriptions which are found there right from the time of Sultān Muḥammad bin Sām who conquered India.<sup>3</sup> The tablet bearing this record, which measures 35 by 20 cm. is fixed above the central *mihrāb* of the mosque locally called Kharī Masjid, which is an ordinary building with no claim to any architectural merit.<sup>4</sup>

The epigraph comprises three lines of writing, the first containing the First Creed and the rest two, comprising its main text in Persian, records the construction of “this mosque” in the reign of the sultān of sultāns Shihābu’d-Dīn Muḥammad Ṣāhib Qirān-i-Thānī Shāh Jahān Bādshāh Ghāzī, by the servant Ishāq son of Mullā Ṭahīr Multānī, on the 11<sup>th</sup> of Ramaḍān A.H. 1047 (17<sup>th</sup> January, 1638 A.D.).

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1. For an account of his career and character, see Shaikh Farīd Bhakkarī, *op.cit.*, vol.III (Karachi, 1974), pp.10-12; Ṣamṣāmu’d-Daula, *Ma‘āthiru’l-Umarā*, Eng.tr. H. Beveridge, vol. I (Patna, Reprint, 1979), pp.791-95; Muzaffar ‘Alī Khān, *op.cit.*, pp.239-40.
  2. For inscriptions from Nāgaur, see *PMIR*, Nos.362-464; Ziyāu’d-Dīn Desāi, *Topographical List of Arabic Persian and Urdu Inscriptions of Western India (TLWI)*, New Delhi, 1996, Nos.1514-1613.  
Quite a few of these records have been edited and published in this series; see *EIAPS*, 1970, pp.13-14; *ibid.*, 1972, pp.33-38 and p.32, n.1, where at p.33, n.1, references to previous publications will also be found.
  3. There are at least eight inscriptions of the reign of Shāh Jahān at Nāgaur of which two are of Mahābat Khān, Khān Khānān Sipahsālār. Of these, four have been published in *Epigraphia Indo-Moslemica (EIM)*, 1949-50, pp.43-46, with plates.
  4. *AREp.*, 1968-69, No.D, 422; *PMIR*, No.431.

The style of writing is somewhat crudish *Naskh* in the Arabic First Creed, but fairly good *Nasta'liq* in the Persian text. It is obvious that the designer was not conversant with the *Naskh* style of writing. The overall execution of the text lacks neatness; the invocatory phrase *khalladallāhu mulkahū* seems to have been added by the engraver or designer afterwards, since the word *khallada* is written below the words *Bādshāh Ghāzī*, at the end of the second line, while *Allāhu mulkahū* is written at the end of the third line.

The inscription has been read as under :

TEXT

*Plate II(a)*

(۱) لا اله الا الله محمد رسول الله  
 (۲) بنا کرد این مسجد در عهد سلطان السلاطین شهاب الدین محمد صاحبقران  
 ثانی شاه جهان بادشاه غازی خلد الله ملکه  
 (۳) بنده اسحاق بن ملاطاهر ملتانی بتوفیق سبحانی بتاریخ یازدهم ماه  
 رمضان المبارک ۱۰۴۷ھ

TRANSLATION

- (1) There is no god but Allāh. Muḥammad is the Prophet of Allāh.  
 (2) This mosque was built during the reign of the Sultān of Sultāns Shihābu'd-Dīn Muḥammad Ṣāhib Qirān-i-Thānī Shāh Jahān Bādshāh Ghāzī  
 (3) By the servant Ishāq son of Mullā Tāhir Multānī, through the grace of the Glorified Lord on the date, 11<sup>th</sup> of the month of blessed Ramadān, year (Hijra) 1047 (17<sup>th</sup> January 1638 A.D.).

The inscription does not mention the name of the governor of the province or any other official. About the identity of the builder Ishāq son of Mullā Tāhir Multānī, nothing is known. He does not appear to have held any official position, otherwise his office would have been mentioned in the text.

The word *banda* (servant) with his name is evidently used as a conventional mode of expression and not in the sense of the ‘servant of the court’. From his *nisba* Multānī, it is clear that he or his forefathers belonged to Multān in the Punjāb province of modern Pākistān. The prefix Mullā to the father’s name suggests that he was a man of some learning. As to Ishāq himself, he could have been just a merchant or trader carrying on some trade or business at Nāgaur.

### **Inscription No. IV also from Nāgaur**

The lower of the two tablets built up in the western wall, to the right of the pulpit, of the mosque near Māyā Darwāza of the city of Nāgaur is inscribed with a Persian record in four lines.<sup>1</sup> That this tablet also, as in the case of a few more does not belong to the mosque in question is clear from its text which records that “this village of Kadāna<sup>2</sup> in *pargana* Lodhānā<sup>3</sup>” was built in the reign of Sulṭān Shihābu’-d-Dīn Ṣāhib Qirān-i-Thānī Shāh Jahān. It is dated the 14 Ramaḍān A.H. 1047 (20 January 1638 A.D.).<sup>4</sup>

The mosque referred to in the inscription must have been constructed in the village Kadāna in the *pargana* Lodhānā from where it must have been shifted to its present location. When and under what circumstances, this happened, it is difficult to determine in the absence of any detailed local history of places. Nor is it possible to identify the two places, the village Kadāna and the *pargana* Lodhānā in which it lay. Efforts to trace them on modern maps, including the latest one on the Mughal Empire<sup>5</sup> have not yielded any result. There are quite a few places in the region ending with the suffix ānā, the nearest from Nāgaur being Indāna, about 15 kilometres to its south-east.<sup>6</sup>

The text reads as under:

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1. *AREp.*, 1968-69, No.D, 424; *PMIR*, No.432.

The upper tablet contains a record dated A.H. 1088 (1677 A.D.) purporting the construction of a mosque in the locality of Darūdgarān (Carpenters), for which see *AREp.*, No.424, and *PMIR*, No.444.

2. The name could also be read as Kharāna.

3. The name has been read as Lodhāna in the *AREp.*, *loc.cit.* However, there appears to be a dot of the letter *nūn* (read as *lām*) above *wāv*, which would make it Nodhānā. The correct name, however, could be determined by examining the writing on the stone, as the impression is not very carefully taken.

4. The second digit indicating the tens of the year is not very clear in the impression. The year could be A.H. 1037 instead of A.H. 1047.

5. Irfan Habib, *An Atlas of the Mughal Empire*, Revised Edition with Corrections (New Delhi, 1986).

6. *Ibid.*, Map 6A, 27+, 73+



## TEXT

## Plate II(b)

- (۱) [بناشد] مسجد این موضع کدانه پرگنه لودھانہ بتوفیق اللہ تعالیٰ  
 (۲) [وبعنا] بیت محمد رسول اللہ در عہد سلطان شہاب  
 (۳) [الدین] صاحب قرآن ثانی شاہ جہان بادشاہ الغازی خلد اللہ [ملکہ]  
 (۴) بتاریخ ۱۴ رمضان ۱۰۴۷ھ

## TRANSLATION

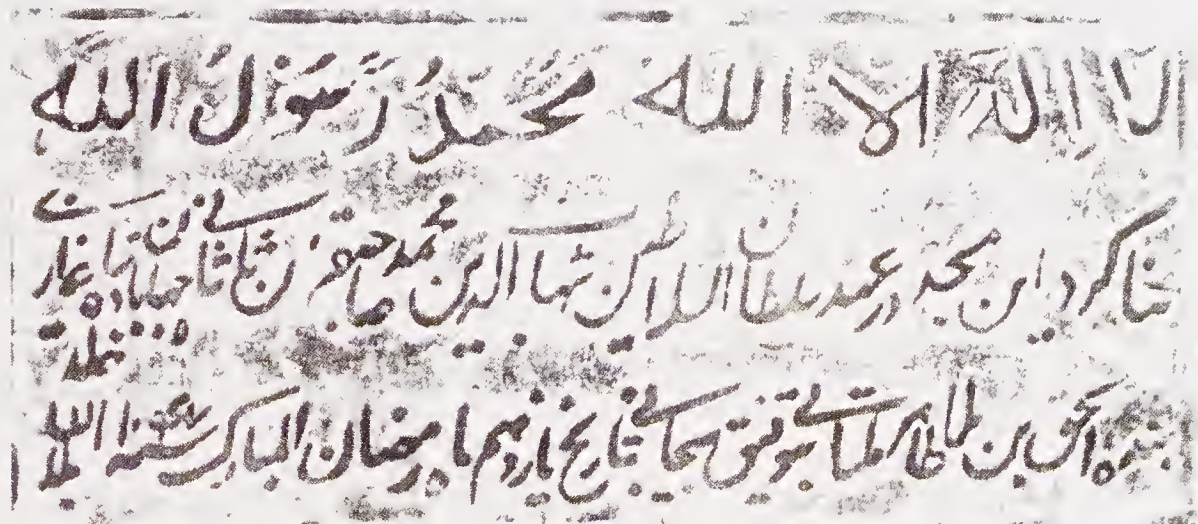
- (1) This mosque in the village Kadāna of the *pargana* Lodhānā [was constructed] through the grace of the Exalted Allāh  
 (2) And through the kindness of Muḥammad the Prophet of Allāh in the reign of Sultān Shihāb -  
 (3) U'd-Dīn Ṣāhib Qirān-i-Thānī Shāh Jahān Bādshāh al-Ghāzī, may Allāh perpetuate [his kingdom]  
 (4) On the 14<sup>th</sup> of the blessed month of Ramaḍān year (Hijra) 1047 <sup>1</sup> (20<sup>th</sup> January 1638 A.D.).

The style of writing of the inscription is fairly good *Nasta'liq* which has been scribed by some professional calligrapher. The writing of the text, occupying a space of about 40 by 25 cm. seems to have been affected by weather and passage of time and the tablet seems to have been shifted when the mosque to which it belonged fell into disrepair and ruins.

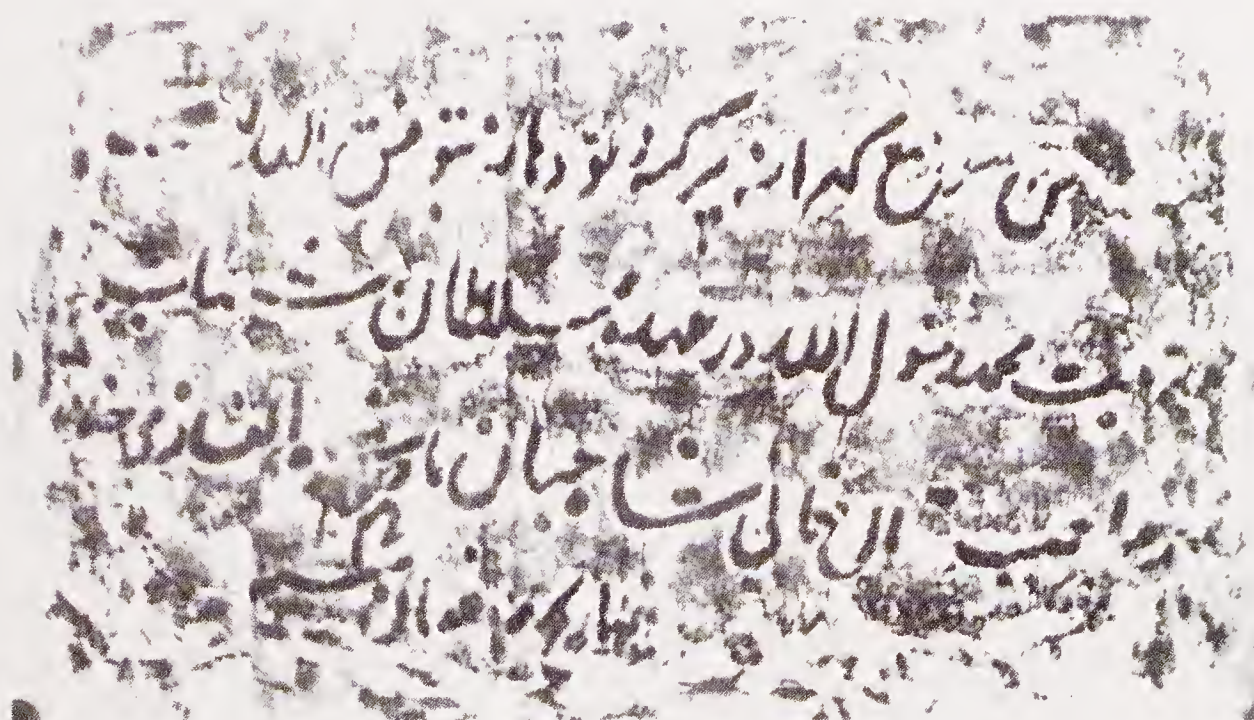
The inscription does not furnish the name of the builder or any other information that could throw light on the local history. Nevertheless, it is important in having preserved the name of two places of the Mughal period, helpful as it will be in the identification of any of them occurring in other sources.

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1. See note 4 previous page. In the event of the year being 1037 A.H., the corresponding Gregorian date would be 8 May 1628 A.D.



(a) Inscription from Nāgaur, p.12



(b) Inscription from village Kadāna, p.14

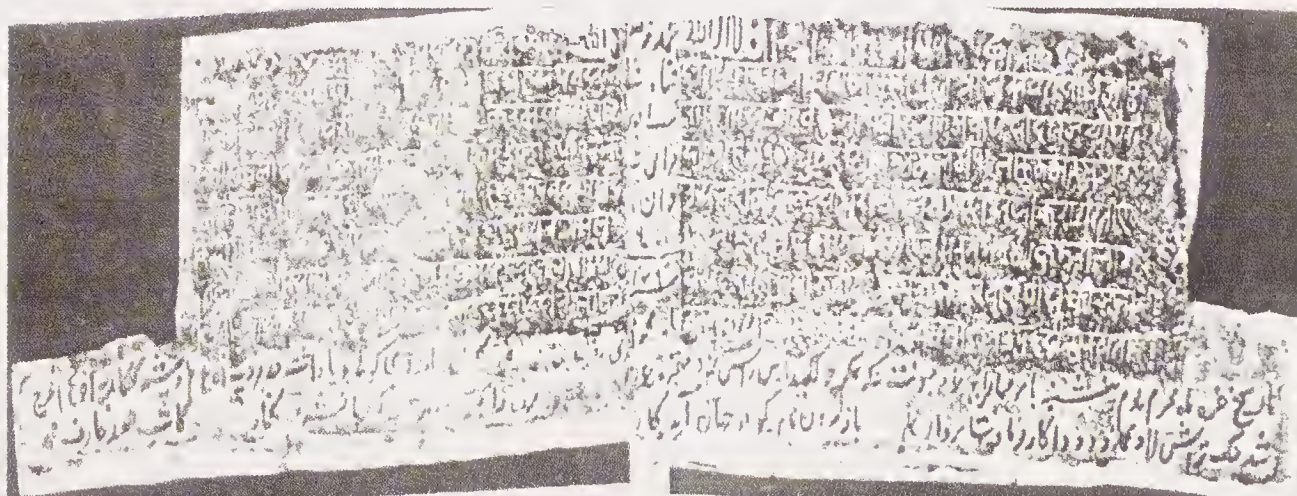




PLATE III



(a) Inscription from the tomb of Qāḍī Ḥamīdu'd-Dīn Nāgaurī, p. 15



(b) Bilingual inscription from Bilārā, pp.18-19





**Inscription No.V also from Nāgaur**

This inscription is fixed in the *mihrāb* of the mosque locally called after the name of the famous 13<sup>th</sup> century savant and saint, Qāḍī Ḥamīdu'd-Dīn Nāgaurī.<sup>1</sup> It is perhaps calligraphically the most artistically and neatly written epigraph in the present group. Its *Nasta'liq* calligraphy is of a fairly high order and carried the visual effect of a calligraphical paper-panel (*waṣṣī*).

The text of the epigraph contains three lines of writing and states that this roofless sacred place i.e. the mosque which was originally constructed by His Holiness the king of gnostics Qāḍī Ḥamīdu'd-Dīn Nāgaurī, was without a roof for quite some time, and therefore on the 2<sup>nd</sup> *Dhī'l-Hijja* A.H. 1047 (7<sup>th</sup> April 1638 A.D.), Muḥammad Nāṣir sought help from the holy spirit of the saint and provided roof for it.

The text occupying a space of about 87 by 30 cm, reads as follows :

## TEXT

*Plate III(a)*

(۱) چون این نجسته فرجام بی سقف از قدیم بنانهاده حضرت سلطان العارفین

قاضی حمیدالدین ناگوری قدس سره

(۲) و نور مرقده بوده بتاریخ دوم ذی حجه سنه هزار و چهل هفت این حقیرترین عباد

اللهم محمدنا صرازی بضاعتی به بهانه سرانجام

(۳) سقف این بنای شریف خود را در پناه باطن فیض موطن ایشان کشیده

استمداد همت نمود اللہ باقی

## TRANSLATION

(1) Since this sacred place roofless from a long time had been constructed by His Holiness the king of gnostics Qāḍī Ḥamīdu'd-Dīn Nāgaurī, may his secret be sanctified

1. *AREp.*, 1961-62, No. D, 261; *PMIR*, No.433.

(2) And his grave (lit. resting place) be illuminated, on the 2<sup>nd</sup> Dhi'l-Hijja, year (A.H.) one thousand forty seven (2 Dhi'l-Hijja 1047 = 7 April 1638) this most insignificant of Allāh's creatures Muḥammad Nāṣir, on account of his scantiness of means, on the pretext of furnishing

(3) The roof of this noble edifice, carried himself into the shelter of his (the saint's) bountiful mind and sought help of his magnanimity. Allāh is enduring!

The original builder of the mosque, the thirteenth century saint and savant Qāḍī Ḥamīdu'd-Dīn Nāgaurī is too well-known to require any detailed notice: Qāḍī Ḥamīdu'd-Dīn Muḥammad bin 'Aṭā Nāgaurī not to be confused with his namesake and contemporary fellow-townsmen saint Shaikh Ḥamīdu'd Dīn Abū Aḥmad Sa'īdī Su'ālī Nāgaurī popularly called Sultānu'l-Tārikīn (d. A.H. 673/1274), was a native of Bukhārā. He came to Delhi with his father in the time of Sultān Mu'izzu'd-Dīn Muḥammad bin Sām and was for three years Qāḍī of Nāgaur.<sup>1</sup> He is the author of a number of books including '*Ishqiyya*, *Lawā'ih*, *Tawāliu'sh-Shumūs*, etc. He lies buried in Mehrauli. The year of his death is differently given as 605, 643, 672, 678 or 695 Hijra.<sup>2</sup> Of these, 695 Hijra is stated to be given in the inscription on his grave the text of which is quoted by the author of *Miftāḥu't-Tawārīkh*<sup>3</sup>; this is not correct. According to this inscription, recording the construction of this tomb in A.H. 974 (1566-67 A.D.) and published by the writer of these lines in a previous issue of this journal, the Qāḍī had died in the night of Monday, 11<sup>th</sup> Ramaḍān 641 (22 February 1244 A.D.).<sup>4</sup>

### Inscription No.VI from Bilārā

The sixth inscription of the group is reported to occur above the inner face of the western arch of main *chhatrī* (cenotaph) of the Jodhpūr rulers, on the bank of the Tank at

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1. See C.A. Storey, *Persian Literature A Bio-Bibliographical Survey*, Section I (London, 1927), pp.5-6 where and in a subsequent section (p.1192) references to works containing his biographical notices are quoted.
  2. Storey, *op.cit.*, p.5, n.1-6, n.1 and 1192.
  3. T.W. Beale, *Miftāḥu't-Tawārīkh* (1897), p.73. Storey, *op.cit.*, p.1192, also quotes it, but he does not take note of Beale's statement in the following sentence that the chronogrammatic phrase in the fragment quoted in *Mukhbiru'l-Auliya*, yields the year 672 A.H.
  4. *EIAPS*, 1968, pp.36-40, pl.Xc. There the question of the date of his death is discussed at length and determined.

Banganga, which is about 3 kilometres from Bilārā,<sup>1</sup> a tahsil headquarters in the Jodhpūr district.<sup>2</sup>

From the photograph, it appears that it was decided to have the *Nāgarī* version carved above the Persian version contrary to the general practice wherein Persian, the court-language was accorded primary position in bilingual records throughout the country including Rājasthān. The reason may be the provenance and purport of the record. But the rather curious and unusual aspect of the epigraph is this: The Persian counterpart, as it occurs in a regular frame below the *Nāgarī* version, omitted the name of the reigning Mughal emperor Shāh Jahān. And this seems to have been noticed or met with an objection from some quarter and it was decided to include it. But there being no space for it, the name and titles of the court and the year and month preceded by the Islamic First Creed were inscribed in the middle of the slab, over the *Nāgarī* text, the entire First Creed in the middle of the first line, and one word or so in each of the following seven lines. Why and under what circumstances this happened, it is difficult to say. It may be noted that this addition is in the same hand as that of the main Persian inscription.

This is, as it would appear in the present state, a usually executed bilingual epigraph, comprising two versions, one in local dialect incised on the stone in *Nāgarī* characters and other executed in relief in Persian language. A look at the plate (No. IV (a) of this inscription will show that the Persian text is curiously accommodated on the slab. It starts in the middle of the tablet dividing so to say the *Nāgarī* text into two parts. It is difficult to say, in the absence of a completely read text of the *Nāgarī* record if the Persian text in this portion has been superengraved on the *Nāgarī* letters in this part. But if it is found that the *Nāgarī* version is continuous without any word or words missing in between in the middle of its each of its 8-line text, it would mean that the epigraph has been designed like this only. However, a careful examination of the *Nāgarī* text would provide a satisfactory answer to this problem.

As compared to those in the *Nāgarī* version, the letters of the Persian one seem to have lost their sharpness with the result that the complete exact purport of the record is not clear. It seems to refer to the construction of the tomb (*maqbara*) – by which evidently the *chhatrī* in question is intended - by one Choudharī (name etc. illegible)

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1. *AREp.*, 1981-82, No.C,168.

2. Under the erstwhile Jodhpūr state, it was the headquarters of a district of the same name. For an account and history of the Bilārā town, see B.D. Agarwal, ed. *Rajasthan District Gazetteer, Jodhpur* (Jaipur, 1979), pp.503-05. No mention of the *chhatrīs* in question is made there under Bilārā.



under the orders of Mahārāja Rāo Jaswant Singh and at the instance of Cho. Lakhmī Dās.<sup>1</sup> It also mentions an amount of Rs.2501 (Two thousand five hundred and one) as having been spent, but on which structure, whether the *chhatrī* itself or some other edifice it is not clear; it further states that a sum of Rs.1501 (One thousand five hundred and one) was spent on the Gangā stream (*chashma*). It mentions the names of the stone-carver (i.e. mason) Lād Muḥammad and the supervisor Dūdā. It also seems to record one more name which reads like Vīthā son of Dārka, but in what connection, it is not clear. The epigraph ends with the name of the scribe ‘Ārif Muḥammad, preceded by a partly illegible Persian couplet, which seems to state that good name is of use to a person even after his death.

A complete reading of the *Nāgarī* text which as usual appears to be detailed is bound to furnish not only definite, but also additional information.

The calligraphy of the Persian text is ordinary to fair *Nasta‘īq*. However, the execution suffers from a couple of mistakes as will be pointed out in their proper place.

The reading of the Persian version is as under :

TEXT

Plate III(b)

(۱) لا اله الا الله محمد رسول الله

(۲) شاه شها

(۳) ب الدین

(۴) قرانی شاه<sup>2</sup>

(۵) جهان باد

(۶) شاه غازی

1. Here Cho. appears to be an abbreviation of Choudhary.

2. The word Sāhib has been left out here and the words have been omitted between *alif* and *nūn* of *Qirānī*.

(۷) سنه ۱۰۴۹

(۸) ماه محرم

(۹) تاریخ غره ماه محرم یوم پنجشنبه بامر مہاراج راجہ جسونت سنگھ بکرم چو

[دھری؟] لکھمیداس راس نمود چودھری..... یادداشت..... روپیہ ۲۵۰۱ و

چشمہ گنگا روپیہ ۱۵۰۱ خرچ

(۱۰) شد سنگ تراش لاد محمد و دودا کار فرما و متھابن دارکا

[دوارکا؟] شعر [باز<sup>۱</sup>] بعد [مردن نام نکودر جہان آید بکار..... صرف را

..... باشد در کنار کاتب العبد عارف محمد

#### TRANSLATION

(1) There is no god but Allāh. Muḥammad is the Prophet of Allāh.

(2) Shāh Shihā-

(3) Bu'd-Dīn

(4) [Sāhib] Qirān [-i-Thā]nī Shāh

(5) Jahān Bād-

(6) Shāh Ghāzī.

(7) Year (A.H.) 1049,

(8) Month of Muḥarram.

(9) On the date, 1<sup>st</sup> of the month of Muḥarram, day Thursday (24 April 1639) under the orders of Mahārāj Rājā Jaswant Singh (and) at the instance of Cho(udhary?) Lakhmī Dās, constructed the tomb (*maqbara*), Choudharī .....rupees 2501 were spent (on ..... ) and on (?) Gangā spring (*chashma*)<sup>1</sup>, rupees 1501.

(10) The stone-carver (*sangtarāsh*) is Lād Muḥammad and Dūdā is the supervisor (*kārfarmā*); Vīthā son of Dārkā (Dwārkā ?) (Verse:) After the death, good name will remain (lit. be of use) in the world.

1. This is evidently the mistake of the writer and not the engraver.

Only ..... will be in one's embrace (i.e. possession). The writer is the creature 'Ārif Muḥammad.

The *Nāgarī* version, according to the Chief Epigraphist, Archaeological Survey of India, Mysore, appears to record the construction of a *chhatrī* on Vikrama 1694, Vai'sākha su.3, by Chodhary Lish(kh)amīdāsajī at the cost of Rs.1501, another *chhatrī* also on the Vikrama 1695, Phālguna ba.1, Thursday (7 February 1639 A.D.) by Chōdhari Goidajī (Gōvindjī) and others at the cost of Rs.2501. It also mentions Silavata-Lākama (sic.) obviously connected with the above construction. It was written on Vikrama 1696, Āshādha'su.9.<sup>2</sup>

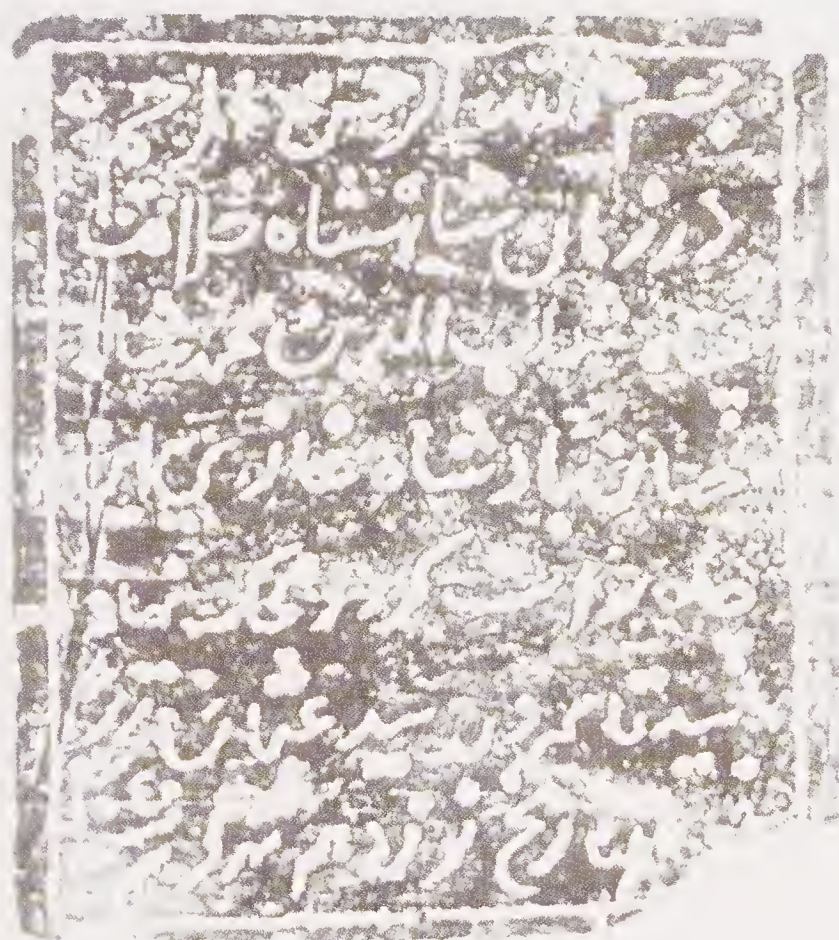
Among the persons mentioned in the Persian epigraph, Mahārāj Rāja Jaswant Singh is too well-known to need any detailed notice. A younger son by a favourite wife of Mahārāja Gaj Singh, the Rāthod Chief of Jodhpūr, he succeeded his father who had died according to Persian sources on 2<sup>nd</sup> Muḥarram A.H. 1048 (6<sup>th</sup> May 1638 A.D.),<sup>3</sup> superseding his elder brother Amar Singh.<sup>4</sup>

The name of the official or person through whom the Mahārāja had ordered the construction of the *chhatrī* is spelt in the Persian text clearly as Cho. Lakhmī Dās, which is rather unusual though this type of abbreviations are commonly used in Sanskrit records of India. In the *Nāgarī* version this name seems to read as Likhamīdāsajī. It is almost certain that the word Cho. is written by the scribe as an abbreviation of Choudhary. In other words this person, very likely an official, is Choudhary Lak[h]mī-Dās. The Persian text does not specify the post Lakhmī Dās held under the Mahārāja. He may have been a minister or at least an official of note. Local sources of the history of Jodhpūr state which is not available to me at the time of writing these lines, may perhaps throw more light.

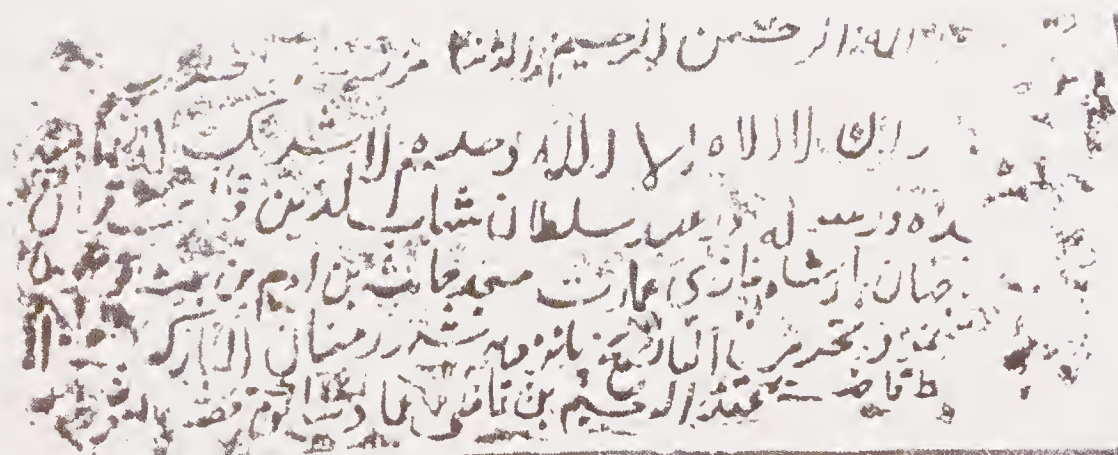
It would be futile to look for the other persons mentioned in the record, namely the stone-carver Lād Muḥammad, the supervisor Dūdā and the scribe 'Ārif Muḥammad

- 
1. This may refer to the Banganga tank.  
According to the Chief Epigraphist's report on the *Nāgarī* version, quoted in the following lines, this amount was also spent on a *chhatrī*.
  2. *AREp.*, 1981-82, No.B-560. It is a pity that the record of which the impression is fairly clear has not been completely and correctly read. The Silāvat's name is not Lākama as deciphered but Lād Maha (mad), i.e. Lād Muḥammad.
  3. *Shāh Nawāz Khān*, *op.cit.*, vol.I,p.571.
  4. For an account of Mahārāja Jaswant Singh, see *ibid.*, pp.754-56, where in notes further sources are also quoted.





(a) Inscription from Hindaun, p. 21



(b) Inscription from Barī Khātū, p. 23



as well as one Vīthā son of Dārka (Dwārka) who are known from the epigraph under study only.

### **Inscription No.VII from Hindaun**

The slab bearing the seventh inscription of the present study is lying loose on a grave-platform, situated in the Tahsil-office compound at Hindaun in the Sawāi Mādhopūr district of Rājasthān.<sup>1</sup> Hindaun seems to have been a place of some importance as is indicated by a few monuments, as also quite a few inscriptions to be found there, dating from the first half of the 14<sup>th</sup> century<sup>2</sup> and pertaining to the time of the Tughluq kings Muḥammad bin Tughluq Shāh and Fīrūz Shāh, Auhadīs of Bayāna, and the Mughal emperors Bābur, Jahāngīr, Shāh Jahān and Aurangzeb, mentioning *amīrs* and officials.

The inscriptional tablet measuring 40 by 45 cm. contains a record of seven lines beginning with *Basmala*, followed by the text proper, mentioning the construction of a well and setting up of the tablet (*bījak*) by Sayyid Qāsim son of Sayyid ‘Uthmān. It was written on the 19<sup>th</sup> of the month of Muḥarram (A.H.) 1050 (1 May 1640 A.D.).

The language of the epigraph is Persian, and style of writing fair *Nasta‘līq*. The text is incised on the tablet instead of being written in raised letters as is generally the case with Persian-Arabic inscriptions of India.

The text reads as under :

#### TEXT *Plate IV(a)*

- |                                   |     |
|-----------------------------------|-----|
| بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم            | (۱) |
| در زمان شاهنشاه خلافت             | (۲) |
| پناه شهاب الدین محمد شاه          | (۳) |
| جهان بادشاه غازی این              | (۴) |
| چاه راست کرد و بیک نهاد           | (۵) |
| سید قاسم ولد سید عثمان تحریراً    | (۶) |
| [فی] التاريخ نوزدهم شهر محرم ۱۰۵۰ | (۷) |

1. *AREp.*, 1955-56, No. D, 160; *PMRI*, No.150.

2. For these see, *PMRI*, Nos. 242-57.

## TRANSLATION

- (1) In the name of Allāh the Compassionate, the Merciful.
- (2) In the reign of the emperor, the asylum of caliphate,
- (3) Shihābu'd-Dīn Muḥammad Shāh
- (4) Jahān Bādshāh Ghazī, this
- (5) Well was constructed and the inscriptional tablet (*bījak*) set up
- (6) By Sayyid Qāsim son of Sayyid 'Uṭhmān. Written
- (7) On the date 19<sup>th</sup> of the month of Muḥarram (A.H.) 1050 (1 May 1640 A.D.).

As to the identify of Sayyid Qāsim son of Sayyid 'Uṭhmān mentioned in the epigraph, he is different from his more renowned namesake Sayyid Qāsim Bārha who was the son of Sayyid Maḥmūd. From the title *khilāfat-panāh* (asylum of caliphate) used for the emperor in the inscription, it is a reasonable guess that it was set up by some one holding some official position. One Sayyid Qāsim, without the father's name finds mention in the '*Ālamgīr Nāma*' as the governor of the Allahābād fort in 1068 (1658 A.D.), who had ultimately at the behest of Prince Dārā Shikūh joined Shujā against Prince Aurangzeb's army but ultimately surrendered the fort to the latter's nominee Khān Daurān (II). He then came and paid obeisance to Aurangzeb in Rājasthān on the 11 Jumādā II 1068 at Toda in Rājasthān when the latter was proceeding to Punjāb against Dārā Shikoh and received a *manṣab* of 3,000 and title of Shihāmat Khān.<sup>1</sup> Not unlikely, he might be Sayyid Qāsim of our inscription, which in that case would provide a valuable piece of information about his early career, namely that in Shāh Jahān's reign, he was posted in Hindaun in some official capacity and had constructed a well there in the given year.

### Inscription No.VIII from Barī Khātū

This epigraph occurs over the central *mihrāb* of Qalandarī (one-wall) mosque, situated to the north-north east of the tomb of Samman Shāh at Barī Khātū in the Jael tahsil of Nāgaur district.<sup>2</sup> Barī Khātū is an old historical place, and fairly good number of Arabic and Persian inscriptions from this place have come to light, which range in

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1. Muḥammad Kāzim, '*Ālamgīr Nāma* (Calcutta, 1868), pp.303,307; W.E. Begley and Z.A. Desai, *History of Shah Jahan*, part IV (forthcoming), See Index.  
 2. *AREp.*, 1966-67, No.D,204; *PMIR*, No.117.



their dates from A.H. 599 (1203 A.D.) to A.H. 1211 (1796-97 A.D.) and cover about all periods of medieval Indian history, providing sufficient historical information.<sup>1</sup> It is one of the three places in Rājasthān, the other two being Ajmer and Kamān (in Bharatpūr district), which possesses one of the earliest four mosques extant on the Indian soil dating back to the Mamlūk period.<sup>2</sup>

The inscription under notice comprises six line of writing engraved in relief on a slab measuring about 65 by 26 cm., which is slightly damaged; as a result, a few of its letters have flaked off or lost sharpness of shape, and the name of the town to which the writer belonged cannot be satisfactorily made out. The first two and part of the third line of the text contain *Basmala*, a famous Arabic saying about the world being the cultivated field for the next world and the Second Creed of Islam. The remaining portion assigns the construction of the mosque to one Jānshah son of Ādam son of Jumesah, of the Chauhān community. It was inscribed on the 15th of Ramaḍān A.H. 1051 (28<sup>th</sup> December 1641 A.D.) by Qāḍī ‘Abdu'r-Raḥīm son of Qāḍī ‘Imād, a resident of Pālanpūr (?).

The style of writing is ordinary *Nasta‘līq*, bordering on crudeness.

The text reads as follows :

TEXT  
*Plate IV (b)*

- (۱) بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم الدنيا مزرعة الآخرة
- (۲) [اشهد أن لا اله الا الله وحده لا شريك له واشهد
- (۳) [ان محمد عبده ورسوله در عهد سلطان شهاب الدين صاحب قران
- (۴) [ثاني شاه] جهان بادشاه غازی عمارت مسجد جانشه بن آدم بن جمیشه قوم چوہان
- (۵) [احداث] نمود تحریر فی التاریخ پانزدہم شهر رمضان المبارک ۱۰۵۱ھ
- (۶) .....خط قاضی عبدالرحیم بن قاضی عماد ساکن قصبہ پالنپور (?)

1. For these see, *PMIR*, Nos. 85-132 and *TLWI*, under Barī Khātū, where further information about their publication will be found.

2. Ziaud-Din A, Desai, *Indo-Islamic Architecture* (New Delhi, 1986), p.5.

## TRANSLATION

(1) In the name of Allāh, the Compassionate, the Merciful. The world is a sown-field for the next world.

(2) I bear witness that there is no god but Allāh the one, He has no partner. And I bear witness that Muḥammad is

(3) His creature and his Prophet. In the reign of Shihābu'd-Dīn Muḥammad (?) Ṣāhib Qirān-i-

(4) [Thānī Shāh] Jahān Bādshāh Ghāzī, the edifice of the mosque, Jānshah son of Ādam son of Jumesah, of the Chauhān community (*qaum*),

(5) Constructed. Written on the date, 15<sup>th</sup> of the blessed month of Ramaḍān year (A.H.) 1051 (26<sup>th</sup> December 1641 A.D.).

(6) . . . writing of Qādī 'Abdu'r-Raḥīm son of Qādī 'Imād, inhabitant of the town of Pālanpūr (?).

The builder's name is inscribed as Jānshah, which could as well have been Chānshah, a name presently more in vogue among the *faqīrs*. This as well as the name of the builder's grandfather Jumesah – with the suffix “Shah” – are common name among the rural *faqīr* community in Gujarāt (and perhaps Rājasthān). This community worked also as caretakers of graveyards, *takiyas*, etc. and used to lead a life without luxury, show and pomp remaining contented what they were getting from the kings or local officials as a subsistence allowance. We get ample evidences from the documents and *farmāns* in which such caretakers were appointed for this purpose. They should not be taken as mere beggars.

The builder's community-name Chauhān indicates that he belonged to a family of Rājput converts to Islām. Neither the builder Jānshah (or Chānshah) nor the scribe Qādī 'Abdu'r-Raḥīm who is stated to have belonged to Pālanpūr (if the place-name is correctly read), a capital of the erstwhile Pālanpūr state and now a district headquarters of the Banaskāntha district bordering Rājasthān on the south, is known to us. Their names like most of their ilk in this study are known through this record only.

**Inscription No. IX from Nāgaur**

In the Kanheri Julāhon-kī-Masjid situated near the Dargāh of 'Alāu'd-'Alī Bāpjī, within and towards the north of the Delhi Gate of the city of Nāgaur are

preserved at least four inscriptional tablets retrieved from the city-wall <sup>1</sup>, through the concern for antiquarian relics and historical objects evinced by Pīrzāda Raḥmatu'llah Raunaq Sulaimānī, whose knowledge of Arabic and Persian inscriptions of Nāgaur and its environs was unrivalled in this part of the country.<sup>2</sup> One of these bears the inscription under study.<sup>3</sup>

Owing to neglect, vandal and exposure to adverse elements of nature, the tablet has been considerably affected, with the result that its four corners, more particularly the left ones, are broken and the letters of the writing thereon which is *Nasta'liq* of a fairly high order, have lost sharpness of outline.

The tablet bearing the inscription is of modest size measuring 25 by 22 cm. and contains a record of six lines in Persian, which refers to the construction of a mosque in front of (i.e. outside) the Delhi Gate in 1055 A.H. (1645-46 A.D.), during the reign of Sultān Shihābu'd-Dīn Ṣāḥib Qirān-i-Thānī Shāh Jahān by one Muḥabbat Darwīsh. It was written by Mullā 'Abdul-Ḥāfiẓ, who worked as the Mu'adhdhin (Caller-to-prayers) in the Jāmi' Mosque inside the fort (i.e. citadel) of Nāgaur.

The epigraph has been deciphered as under:

TEXT

Plate V(a)

- (۱) بنا کرد این مسجد بتوفیق اللہ تعالیٰ در عہد شاہنشاہ [الاعظم]  
 (۲) و خاقان المعظم والمکرم سلطان شہاب الدین صاحب قر [ان]  
 (۳) ثانی شاہ جہان بادشاہ غازی خلد اللہ ملکہ وابد دولتہ  
 (۴) محبت درویش روبرو دروازہ دہلی سنہ الف  
 (۵) خمس و خمسین حررہ ملا عبد الحافظ موزن مسجد  
 (۶) جامع اندرون قلعہ ناگور

1. For these, see *AREp.*, 1965-66, Nos. D, 352-55; *PMIR*, Nos. 389, 434, 439 and 440. One of these belongs to the time of the Khānzāda rulers and one to that of Shāh Jahān and two to that of Aurangzeb. The Khānzāda inscription has been published in *EIAPS*, 1970, p.38.  
 2. The Pīrzāda passed away only recently, some time in the first quarter of this year, 1997.  
 3. *AREp.*, 1965-66, D, No.353; *PMIR*, No.434.



## TRANSLATION

- (1) Constructed this mosque, by the grace of Allāh the Exalted, in the reign of [the greatest] emperor
- (2) And the magnificent and respected Khāqān, Sultān Shihābu'd-Dīn Sāhib Qir[ān]-i-
- (3) Thānī Shāh Jahān Bādshāh Ghāzī, may Allāh perpetuate his kingdom and last for ever his government,
- (4) Muḥabbat Darwīsh, in front of the Delhi Gate. Year one thousand
- (5) Five and fifty (A.H. 1055=1645-46 A.D.) This was written by Mullā 'Abdu'l Ḥāfiẓ the Mu'adhdhin of the Masjid-i-
- (6) Jāmi' (Jāmi' mosque) inside the fort (i.e. citadel) of Nāgaur.

Nothing is known about Muḥabbat Darwīsh who may have belonged to some order of Darwīshes. Likewise, the scribe of the inscription Mullā 'Abdu'l-Ḥāfiẓ is also an obscure figure. He worked according to the inscription as the Mu'adhdhin of the Jāmi' mosque inside the citadel. At present only one mosque of not much architectural pretension is found in the citadel. An inscription on its *mihrāb* assigns its construction to Nawwāb Mahābat Khān Khān Khānān in A.H. 1040 (1630-31 A.D.).<sup>1</sup> It is difficult to say if this is the Jāmi' mosque in which the five-time calls to prayers were given by Mullā 'Abdu'l-Ḥāfiẓ.

It is likely that there was another mosque of some architectural merit built by Mahābat Khān, which might have been one of the many edifices in the citadel and within the city-wall of Nāgaur demolished by Rāja Bakht Singh <sup>2</sup> and its inscriptional tablet, might have been fixed on the present mosque. In any case, the Mullā appears to have acquired some training in calligraphy also as is indicated by the pleasing *Nasta'liq* penmanship of the record under study. It will be noted that the text of the inscription also seems to have been composed by a man of fairly good knowledge of Arabic and Persian. Unlike quite a few of the epigraphs, this brief record furnishes a specimen of correct language.

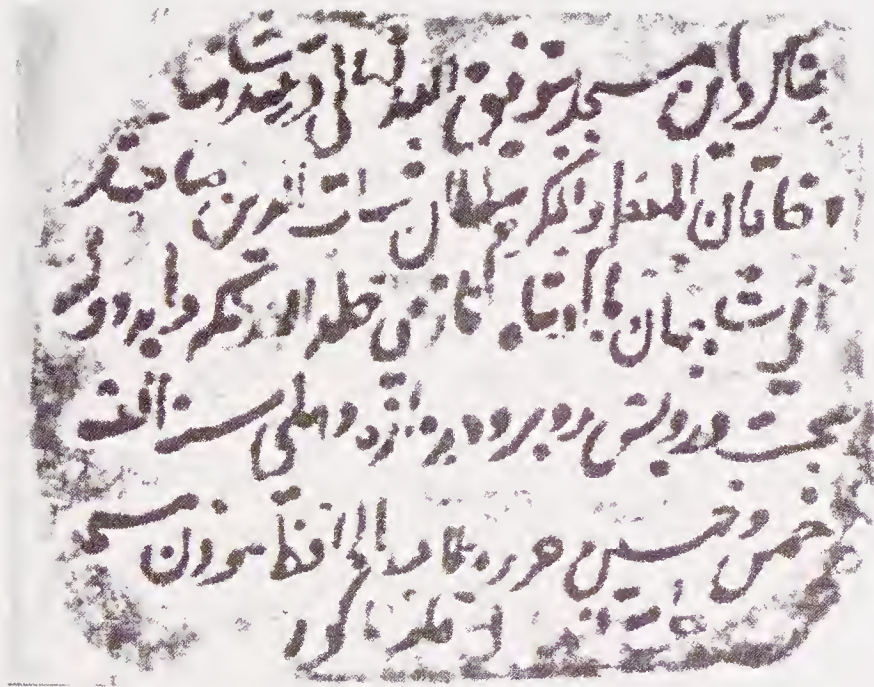
The chaste language and precision in executing the tablet in *Nasta'liq* style also hints at getting the work done from elsewhere.

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1. *PMIR*, No.429.

2. Cunningham, *ASIR*, XXIII (Calcutta 1887), p.63.





(a) Inscription from Jāmi' Masjid, Fort, Nāgaur, p. 25



(b) Inscription from Kota, p. 27



**Inscription No. X from Kota**

The slab bearing this epigraph is reported to have been fixed in the *mihrāb* of a mosque near Kaithūnī Pol in Kota, a district headquarters of Rājasthān.<sup>1</sup>

The inscription is in Persian verse, comprising two couplets, a hemistich to a line, preceded by the mention of Allāh by an attribute *Huwa* “He [is One]” and followed by the (Hijra) year given in figure in the sixth line and the Vikram Samvata in figure in *Nāgarī* in the seventh.

It states that in the reign of *Shāh Jahān*, “this fine *rauḍa* (lit. garden) like the gardens of bounty” was constructed in the reign of *Shāh Jahān* (lit. the king of the world) by Sayyid *Ḥakīm* in the year A.H. 1053 (1643-44 A.D.). The date is given both in figure 1053 and in the chronogram *Say* : “*the master of the charitable deed is Sayyid Ḥakīm*”, which however yields 1063 instead of 1053 given in figure, which latter corresponds to V.S. 1700 given in *Nāgarī* figures. This is rather unusual, since there is no indication of any *ta’miya* or *takhrāja* intended for getting the correct year.

The text, incised on the stone, is inscribed in ordinary *Nasta’līq* and has been read as under :

TEXT  
Plate V (b)

- هو (۱)
- بنا کرد در عهد شاه جهان (۲)
- نکو روضه [چو] ن ریاض نعیم (۳)
- چو تاریخ او جستم از عقل گفت (۴)
- بگو صاحب خیر سید حکیم (۵)
- ۱۰۵۳ (۶)
- ۱۷۰۰ (۷)

1. *AREp.*, 1983-84, No. C, 128. For the history of the Kota state and the city, see M. Savitri Gupta, *Rajasthan District Gazetteers, Kota* (Jaipur, 1982), pp.24-49 and pp.505-07.

## TRANSLATION

- (1) He is (One) !
- (2) Was constructed in the reign of Shāh Jahān (lit. the king of the world),
- (3) A fine *rauḍa* like the gardens of bounty.
- (4) When I asked its date from Reason, it said,
- (5) "Say : *The master of a good deed is Sayyid Ḥakīm*".
- (6) (Year A.H.) 1053 (1643-44 A.D.).
- (7) (V.S.) 1700 (1643 March 12 to 1644 February 28).

The above text is ambiguous about the object of construction. If the inscription is *in situ*, then the charitable deed credited to Sayyid Ḥakīm would be the mosque on which it appears. As it is, the word *rauḍa* literary meaning a garden, indicated in popular parlance a tomb around which usually a garden was also laid out and therefore, it could also mean that Sayyid Ḥakīm had built a tomb. But if taken in its literal meaning, it would mean that a garden was laid out by Sayyid Ḥakīm, obviously for public use. Normally, the word *khair* is used for some work of public utility.

About Sayyid Ḥakīm, no information is available. It has been pointed out above that the numerical value of the chronogrammatic phrase comes to 1063 which is more than the required 1053 given in figure by 10.

**Inscription No. XI from Makrāna**

The tablet bearing the eleventh inscription of this study measures 43 by 26 cm. and is reported to be lying loose in the Teliyon-kī-Masjid at Makrāna, a place famous for its marble quarries, in the Parbatsar tahsīl of Nāgaur district.<sup>1</sup> Nothing is known about its original findspot, but from its text, it is clear that it originally belonged to a mosque only. It is inscribed in relief with a text of eight lines. The historical part is in Persian while the religious text in Arabic comprises the Second and First Creeds of Islam and two sayings of the Holy Prophet, one of them appearing frequently in mosque inscriptions.

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1. *AREp.*, 1975-76, No.D, 191.

For a history, remains and inscriptions of this place, see *ibid.*, 1962-63, Nos. D, 236-39; *ibid.*, 1969-70, Nos. D, 168-69; *PMIR*, 327-334; K.K. Sehgal, ed. *Rajasthan District Gazetteers, Nagaur* (Jaipur 1975), pp.53-54.



The epigraph states that this mosque was constructed in the reign of the sultān of sultāns the sultān of the time and khāqān of the age Abu'z-Zafar u'd-Dunyā wa'd-Dīn (sic) Sultān Muḥammad Shihābu'd-Dīn Ṣāhib Qirān-i-Thānī Shāh Jahān Bādshāh Ghāzī by Shaikh Chānd son of Shāh Muḥammad in the month of Rabī' II A.H. 1053 (June-July 1643 A.D.).

The execution of the epigraph which is inscribed in ordinary to crudish *Nasta'liq* also lacks neatness and suffers from a few orthographical and grammatical mistakes, as has been indicated in the text quoted below:

The text reads as under :

TEXT

Plate VI(a)

- (۱) بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم اشهدان لا اله الا الله وحده
- (۲) لا شريك له واشهد ان محمداً عبده ورسوله لا اله الا الله محمد
- (۳) الرسول (كذا) الله قال النبي صلى الله عليه وسلم الدنيا ساعة (كذا) فاجعلها (كذا)
- (۴) طاعة قال عليه السلام من بنى مسجد [ن] بنى الله تعالى له سبعين قصراً في الجنة
- (۵) يوم القيامة بنا كردين مسجد توفيق الله تعالى در عهد سلطان السلاطين سلطان [ن]
- (۶) الزمان وخاقان الدوران ابوالمظفر الدنيا والدين سلطان [ن] محمد شهاب الدين
- (۷) صاحب قران ثانی شاه جهان بادشاه غازی خلد الله ملكه شیخ چاند محمد بن شاه محمد
- (۸) شهر ربيع الثاني ۱۰۵۳

## TRANSLATION

(1) In the name of Allāh, the Compassionate, the Merciful. I bear witness that there is no god but Allāh the one;

(2) He has no partner and I bear witness that Muḥammad is His creature and His prophet. There is no god but Allāh, Muḥammad

(3) Is the Prophet of Allāh. The Prophet, may Allāh's salutations and peace be upon him, says, "The world is just a moment. Use it in

(4) Devotion". Said (the Prophet), may peace be upon him, "He who builds a mosque, the Exalted Allāh builds for him 70 palaces in Paradise

(5) On the day of Resurrection". This mosque was built through the grace of the Exalted Allāh, during the reign of the sultān of the sultāns, Sultān

(6) Of the time and monarch of the age Abu'l-Muẓaffar (Lit. father of victory i.e. victorious) in the world and the religion Sultān Muḥammad Shihābu'd-Dīn

(7) Ṣāhib Qirān-i-Thānī, Shāh Jahān Bādshāh Ghāzī, may Allāh perpetuate his kingdom by Shāikh Chānd son of Shāh Muḥammad

(8) (In) the month of Rabī' II (A.H.) 1053 (June-July 1643 A.D.).

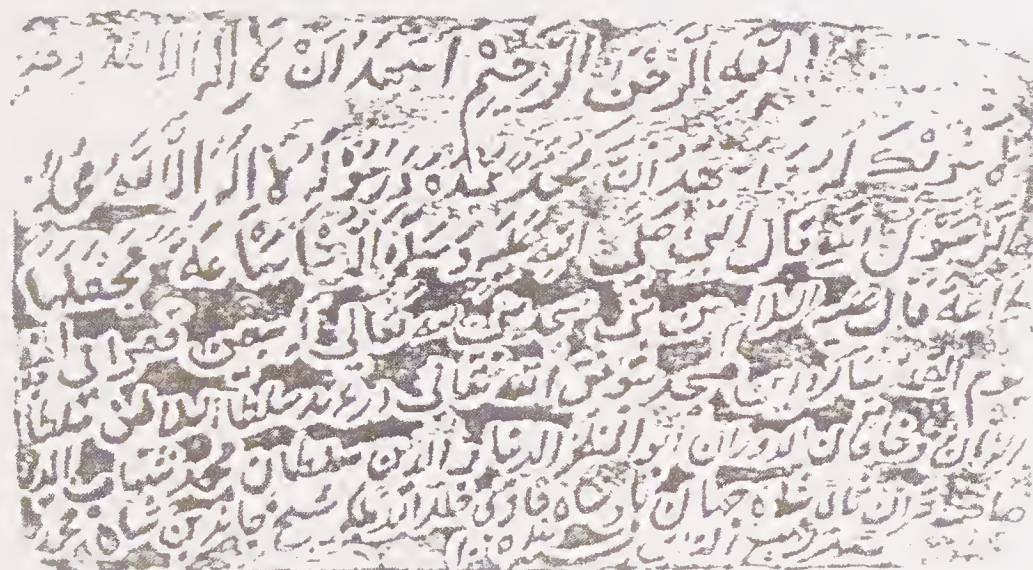
About the builder Shāikh Chānd son of Shāh Muḥammad, nothing is known. It is difficult to say if he held any government office. The titles used in the text for Shāh Jahān might be taken to indicate something to that effect. It may be remembered that men of sorts were employed at this place of marble quarries for carting the commodity for buildings at Āgra and Delhi. He may be one of them. Or he might have been a man of local importance.

**Inscription No. XII from Sir Mathura**

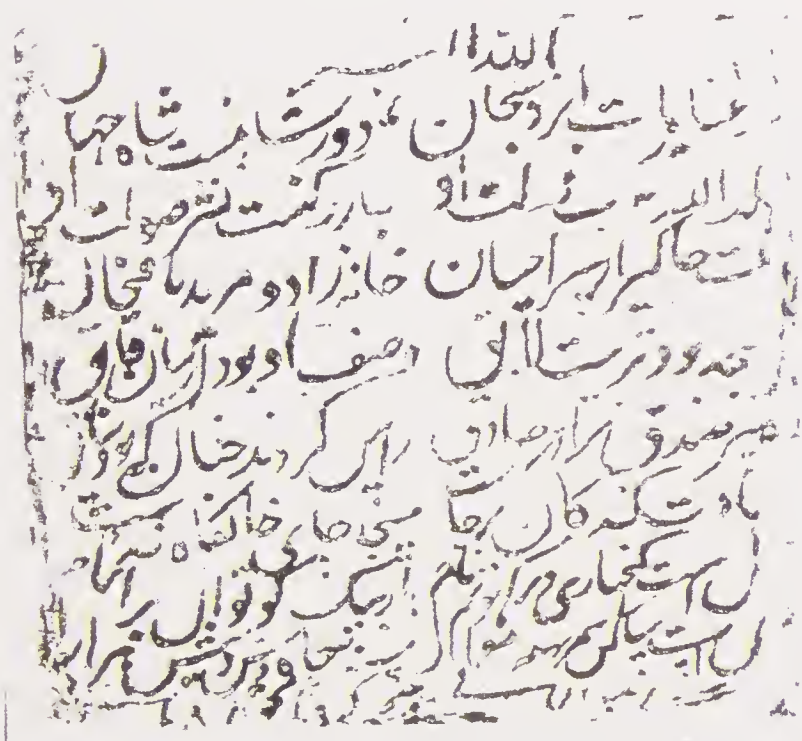
This epigraph is reported to have come from the Shāhī mosque, in Muḥalla Telīpādā, Oopla Bāzār at Sir Mathura, an old town, in the Baseri tahsīl of Bharatpūr district.<sup>1</sup> The epigraphical tablet measuring 68 by 55 cm. is fixed to the left of the central *miḥrāb* in the west wall of the mosque and contains a metrical epigraph in

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1. *AREp.*, 1978-79, No. C, 169.



(a) Inscription from Makrāna, p. 29



(b) Inscription from Sir Mathūra, p. 30





Persian comprising eight couplets. The quality of verse is quite mediocre, and the composer of the text appears to have had just a superficial knowledge of the Persian language. For example in line five he uses the word *tarbiyat* (training, patronage) evidently for *tarmīm* (repairs), but this could perhaps be an engraver's mistake; likewise, *shā'iq* in line six is used very probably for *lā'iq*. As a result, it is difficult to translate the text in a few places accurately, though of course the sense is quite clear.

The engraving in relief of the letters is also careless. The style of writing is slightly better than in that of, say, the previous two records. The last line, probably an account of the way in which the tablet has been built up in the wall has not come out in the impression and is therefore illegible; it might contain the name of the scribe or the supervisor.

The first four verses of the inscription state that "at the time of the reign of emperor Shāh Jahān, the houseborn devoted servant Bāqī Khān received fief (here); there was (here) a mosque which needed repairs (*tarbiyat* in the text meaning 'patronage', but evidently *marammat*, 'repairs' is intended); but it was beyond description. He carried out necessary (the text has *shā'iq*, meaning 'fond of' but probably *lā'iq* meaning 'worthy' is meant) repairs in this place." The first hemistich of the next verse (five in line 4) is unclear; the first word is written clearly here as 'Mīr' followed by the word 'ṣidq', this *mīr-i-ṣidq* could be *bahr-i-ṣidq* (or *taṣadduq*). The idea perhaps is that it was done "for the merit of" (his brother Ṣādiq). "And it became fit for the prayers of the worshippers." The text also mentions Kunjbiḥārī and Purkhottam (i.e. Purshottam) the 'āmils (agents) and Yār Beg, the *kotwāl* who (latter) looked after the completion of the work (i.e. who was the overall supervisor of the work).

The first word in the first hemistich of the eighth verse in the ninth line could not be deciphered; it looks like *qā'il* i.e. the composer (of the verses); also the place of which he was resident (*sākin*) reads like Samratha which very probably stands for Sir Mathura. The date given in words is fifty six and one thousand more (1056 A.H. = 1646 A.D.). The last line the portion being either damaged or due to the position of the tablet, the text has not come out well in the impression seems to contain the day and the month 1<sup>st</sup> Rabī' II and a few more words which cannot be made out except perhaps Ishāq.

In short, the epigraph records the repairs carried out to the mosque by Bāqī Khān, the fief-holder and a house-born servant of the emperor for the merit of his brother Ṣādiq on 1<sup>st</sup> Rabī' II A.H. 1056 (7 May 1646 A.D.).

The text reads as under:

TEXT  
*Plate VI(b)*

(۱) اللہ اکبر

- (۲) از عنایات ایزد سبحان دور شاهنشست شاه جهان  
(۳) خلد الله ملک و دولت او چار سو گشت نثرو صولت او  
(۴) یافت جاگیر از سر احسان خانه زاد و مرید باقیخان  
(۵) مسجد [ی] بود تربیت لایق وصف او بود از بیان فایق  
(۶) میر صدق برادر صادق راس کردند چنان که بود شایق  
(۷) عبادت کنندگان برخاست مسجد جای خانگاه خداست  
(۸) [ع]ل است کجبهاری و پر کبوتر نام یاریگ کوتوال بر اتمام  
(۹) [ف]ل است ساکن سمر تهمه شمار سنه پنجاه و شش و بیش هزار  
(۱۰) غره ربیع الثانی..... اسحاق (?).....

TRANSLATION

(1) God is Great !

(2) By the graces of the Glorified God, the period is (that) of the emperor Shāh Jahān,

(3) May Allāh perpetuate his kingdom and government. In all the four sides (of the world), (the fame of) his majesty has reached (i.e. spread).

(4) The house-born (*khānazād*)<sup>1</sup> devoted servant (*murīd*) Bāqī Khān received fief (here) by way of (royal) beneficence.

(5) There was (here) a mosque worth looking after (perhaps, requiring repairs is meant); its account was beyond description.

(6) Mīr Ṣidq, his sincere brother, repaired it as per his wish<sup>2</sup>.

(7) It came up for the offerers of prayers. The mosque is the house of God.

(8) The Agent is Kunj(b)ihārī and also one Purkhottam (Purshottam) by name. Yār Baig the *kotwāl* was (put) on (seeing to its) completion.

(9) (The composer ?) is a resident of Samratha [Sirmathra ?]. The year (of construction) is fifty and six and thousand more.

(10) First of Rabī' II ..... Ishāq .....

The date thus is 1 Rabī' II 1056 (7 May 1646 A.D.).

It is a pity that due to various factors including perhaps the unsatisfactory nature of the impression, this very important inscription cannot be made to yield the complete and exact information it was set up to convey. Nevertheless, whatever could be made out is also quite important furnishing useful information.

Bāqī Khān mentioned in the record is perhaps identical with Bāqī Baig Chela Qalmāq who was one of the trusted slaves of Shāh Jahān and was much liked by him. By dint of his devoted service and zeal, he was favoured with honours from time to time. In the 7<sup>th</sup> regnal year, until 26 Rajab 1043 (26 January, 1634), he held a rank of 700/500 which he had held in the 6<sup>th</sup> regnal year<sup>3</sup> and on the said date, under lunar weighing ceremony honours, he was granted a rank with an increase of 300/100 of 1000/600 and the title of Bāqī Khān. In the 9<sup>th</sup> regnal year, on 18<sup>th</sup> Jumādā II 1045 (29 November 1635), alongwith Makramat Khān and Ishāq Baig Yazdī, he was sent to trace and unearth the treasures and other articles of Rāja Bīr Singh Bundela in the forest, near Datia and Jhānsī fort, and he returned alongwith the said officers; they presented 28 lac rupees worth of treasures in the royal preserve on 5 Rajab on Sunday 2 Rabī' II 1047 (23 August, 1637 A.D.), he was granted a robe of honour, a standard 1045

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1. The *manṣabdārs* or *amīrs* used to mention themselves as *fidwī* (loyal servant), *murīd* (devoted servant), and *khānazād*, literally meaning 'born in the house' that is to say born when his father was in royal service, in other words, a hereditary servant.
  2. This is what the text as it is found on the stone can be made to yield the meaning of. Personally I think, as stated above, what is meant is that Bāqī repaired it for the merit of his brother Sādiq.
  3. Shāh Nawāz Khān, *op.cit.*, vol. I, pp.380-81 gives a brief sketch of his career. More details of his career as gleaned from contemporary historical works follow.



(15 December 1635). In the 10<sup>th</sup> regnal year under Lunar weighing ceremony honours, an elephant and a *manṣab*, by an increase of 1,000/1,000 of 2,000/2,000 was granted to him and made Faujdār of Islāmābād Jathara <sup>1</sup> in the territory of the Bundela. On 8<sup>th</sup> Jumādā II 1048 (17 October 1638), he was sent from the court a robe of honour and a kettledrum in recognition of his services in chasing the Bundela miscreants in that region.<sup>2</sup>

But since the Bundelas under Champat had raised to chiefship Prithī Rāj, a minor son of the late chief and had become more powerful, the emperor recalled ‘Abdullāh Khān Bahādur Fīrūz Jang, from Patna and on about 16 Shā‘bān 1048 (20 February 1639) granted him fief of Islāmābād-Jathra (where obviously Bāqī Khān continued as Faujdār, taking an active part in the suppression of the Bundelas), and put him under over all charge of dealing with the Bundela menace. In the following months, Bāqī Khān pursued the Bundelas and succeeded in capturing Prithī Rāj alive.

In the 17<sup>th</sup> regnal year, on 18 Ramadān 1053 (30 November 1643), he was appointed, in recognition of his trustworthiness, as the *Dārogha* (Superintendent) of the *Ghusl Khāna* or *Daulat Khāna-i-Khās*, which was held along with other charge by ‘Allāma Sa‘dullāh Khān. In the 18<sup>th</sup> regnal year, on Wednesday 26 Dhu’l-Qa’da 1054 (24 January 1644), he was made Commandant of the Akbarābād fort.

In the 19<sup>th</sup> regnal year, on or about 26<sup>th</sup> Rabī‘ II 1056 (11 June 1646), he was made to share the charge of the commandantship of the Akbarābād fort with Prithvī Rāj Rāthod, on the latter’s transfer from the commandantship of Daulatābād fort. In the 20<sup>th</sup> year, on 8<sup>th</sup> Shawwāl 1056 (17 November 1646), Girdhar Dās Gaur was made joint commandant of Āgra fort with Bāqī Khān.

In the 21<sup>st</sup> regnal year, on 9 Dhu’l-i-Hijja 1057 (8 January 1648), Bāqī Khān accompanied by other officials of the capital city went to Rahīmpūr to receive the emperor on his return to the capital. In the 24<sup>th</sup> year, on 19<sup>th</sup> Jumādā II 1060 (19 June 1650), Bāqī Khān was replaced by Sādāt Khān brother of Islām Khān as the Commandant of the fort of Āgra. Later, on 12 Rabī’ I 1061 (5<sup>th</sup> March 1651), when the emperor was in Shahābād in Ambāla district of Punjāb, on his way to Lāhore, Bāqī Khān received permission to return to his fief the name of which the contemporary historian Muḥammad Wārith does not specifically mention, but which is evidently the one mentioned in the inscription.

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1. Jathara in Tikamgarh district of Madhya Pradesh.

2. Shāh Nawāz Khān, *op.cit.*, I, pp.342,389,428-29,533; vol.II, pp.71,533.



Sometime after this, on 29<sup>th</sup> Ṣafar 1062 (10 February 1652), he came to the capital along with Nayābat Khān where the latter brought the treasure from Āgra under royal orders and paid obeisance. He seems to have been called to active service in the Qandahār campaign first under ‘Allāmī Sa‘dullāh ; he is found to have been placed in the Centre along with the ‘Allāmī as per the deployment planned in advance by the emperor himself. At the time of departure, on 16<sup>th</sup> Rabī‘I 1062 (6 February 1652), he was granted a robe of honour and a horse with a silver saddle. On his return, in the 26<sup>th</sup> regnal year, on 20<sup>th</sup> Dhu'l-Qa‘da 1062 (23 October 1652), he along with Islām Qulī Dārogha of the Elephants received orders to retrieve camp equipment from the Rāwī, on his way back from Lāhore to the capital. Then again, he was sent to the Qandahār expedition under Prince Dārā Shikūh under royal orders issued on 24<sup>th</sup> Ṣafar 1063 (24 January 1653) and on the day of departure, received a robe of honour and a horse with a silver saddle. During the siege of Qandahār, he was assigned to guard the wall near the trench of Rāja Badan Singh on the road by which men coming from Bust to Qandahār would enter the fort.

On his return from the prince’s unsuccessful expedition of Qandahār, Bāqī Khān seems to have again returned to his fief Bārī, where he died --- the news of his death reached Shāh Jahān on 26 Jumādā I, 1064 (14 April 1654).<sup>1</sup>

According to the contemporary Shaiikh Farīd Bhakkarī who calls him Bāqī Baig, he was in the beginning of his career as *kotwāl* of Lāhore and was attached to Bābā ‘Ināyatu’llāh, a favourite servant of Nawwāb Āṣaf Jāh (Yamīnu’d-Daula) and did not have any independent power or authority. He had therefore had this *sajā’* – seal-legend engraved on his ring: “*kār ba-‘ināyatast bāqī bahāna*, meaning the work is ‘Ināyat’s; the rest (Bāqī) is just a pretence i.e. only in name”.<sup>2</sup>

It will be observed from the above account of Shāh Jahān’s chroniclers that none of them specify his fief or mention the time of its grant to Bāqī Khān except when stating that he died in his fief Bārī. That Bārī was Bāqī Khān’s fief is also corroborated by our epigraph. Its findspot Sir Mathura stated in the epigraph to be in fief of Bāqī

1. This account has been gleaned from contemporary historical works like ‘Abdu’l-Ḥamīd Lāhorī’s *Bādshāh Nāma*, its continuation by Muḥammad Wārith, etc. A comprehensive history of Shāh Jahān from his birth to death, in the words of his contemporary court historians is under compilation in five parts. It is almost ready under the title *The History of Shāh Jahān*, ed. W.E. Begley and Z.A. Desai. The above account occurs in this *History* in II, 342,428-29,533; III, 71,85,122-23,227,265,329,393; IV,30,144,164,196,200,203-4,228-235,237,251,287,etc.
2. Shaiikh Farīd Bhakkarī, *op.cit.*, p.380. As almost usual, Shāh Nawāz Khān, *op.cit.*, p.381, quotes this without mentioning his source, the *dhakhīra* of Shaiikh Farīd’s work *Dhakhīratu’l-Khawānīn*.

Khān is situated at a distance of about 30 kilometres to the south-west of Bārī.<sup>1</sup>

### **Inscription No. XIII from Barambād**

This bilingual inscription is from Barambād in the Bayāna Tahsīl of Bharatpūr district and is incised on a tablet measuring 34 by 40 cm. which is fixed into a well locally called Mughal Bāolī.<sup>2</sup>

Barambād or Brahmbād, which is stated to be a corrupted form of Ibrāhīmābād is located on the Bayāna-Rūpbās road approximately 5 kilometres to the east of Bayāna. Mr. Rajeev Bargoti of the Centre of Advanced Study in History, Aligarh Muslim University, Aligarh, who has made an exclusive survey of the place in connection with his research on the development of the township of Bayāna from the beginning of Sultanate (sic) down to the end of 17<sup>th</sup> century and was engaged for some time in documenting the surviving architectural remains of the Mughal period at Bayāna, while taking note of Maryam Zamānī's Bāolī (step-well) at Brahmbād, omits to take notice of this Mughal Bāolī.<sup>3</sup> Mr. Bargoti seems to have been unaware of the Persian inscriptions listed in the *Annual Report on Indian Epigraphy 1972-73*.

It may be of interest to note that Jahāngīr had on his return from Gujarāt encamped at a stage called Barah on Sunday 16<sup>th</sup> of Dai of the 13<sup>th</sup> regnal year (19 Muḥarram 1028 or 6 January 1619). In the printed text of his Memoirs, where he mentions his halt at this place, it is spelt 'Barah'.<sup>4</sup> Beveridge in a note on this word states that it must be Barmadh Mata mentioned by Beale in his article published in the *Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal* August 1873, p.159. He also quotes the famous traveller William Finch speak of a place called Menhapūr near Bayāna, where there was a garden made by the Queen-Mother (i.e. Maryam Zamānī). Jahāngīr also states that Barah (modern Barambād) lay in *pargana* Jausat (Chausat). Jahāngīr also mentions his visit to the step-well constructed by his mother which he found to be a grand building and had been exceedingly well constructed. He also ascertained from the officials its cost which was Rupees 20,000.<sup>5</sup>

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1. Sir Muttra as spelt in Survey of India School Atlas map of Rājasthān is not spotted in *AME*, *loc.cit.*
  2. *AREp.*, 1972-73; D, No. 83 of *PMIR*, No.82. For other Persian inscriptions from the place including the Maryam Zamānī's Bāolī, see *ibid.*
  3. *Proceedings of the Indian History Congress*, 42<sup>nd</sup> Session, New Delhi, 1991-92 (Delhi, 1992), p.465.
  4. *Tūzūk-i-Jahāngīrī*, ed. Syed Aḥmad (Ghāzīpūr, 1863 A.D., 1280 H.), p. 258; *ibid.* (Kānpūr, no date), p.260; *ibid.*, Eng.tr. A.Rogers and H.Beveridge (Delhi Reprint 1989), p.64; *ibid.*, Urdu tr. Lāhore, 1970, p.76.
  5. Rogers and Beveridge, *op.cit.*, p.64 and note.

The epigraph seems to have suffered at the hands of the vandal in the aftermath of the partition of the country during which the erstwhile Bharatpūr state was one of the worst affected areas. As a result, the letters have been chiselled off. Nevertheless, sufficient part of the inscription could be made out-which is perhaps possible because the letters were incised and not executed in relief to enable us to have an idea of its contents. Referring itself to the reign of the emperor, it records the construction of the well on 11<sup>th</sup> Jumādā II A.H. 1058 (22 June 1648). It also contains the name of Ghulām Ḥusain son of Muḥammad Faiḍ (?) Sīstānī; a couple of words preceding his name are illegible. These may perhaps refer to the part played by him in the construction. *Nāgarī* version is reported by the Chief Epigraphist, Archaeological Survey of India, Mysore, to be badly damaged. The impressions are also not good. The style of writing appears to have been fairly good *Nasta'liq*.

The text reads as under:

TEXT

*Plate VII(a)*

- (۱) درایام جلوس حضرت صاحب  
 (۲) قران ثانی شاه جهان بادشاه غازی  
 (۳) ..... غلام حسین ولد محمد فیض  
 (۴) ..... سیتانی این چاه ترتیب  
 (۵) یافت بتاریخ ۱۱ جمید الثانی ۱۰۵۸

TRANSLATION

- (1) In the days of the accession (to the throne) of His Majesty Sāhib  
 (2) Qirān-i-Thānī Shāh Jahān Bādshāh Ghāzī  
 (3) [Through the efforts of?] Ghulām Ḥusain<sup>2</sup> son of Muḥammad Faiḍ<sup>3</sup>  
 (4) ..... Sīstānī, this well

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1. Above this also there are traces of some writing which is illegible.  
 2. This could be read as Ḥasan also.  
 3. See the preceding note.



(5) was constructed, on the date 11 Jumīd II (A.H.) 1058 (22 June 1648 A.D.).

Nothing is known about Ghulām Ḥusain mentioned in the record. Very probably, he was a local official.

### Inscription No. XIV from Makrāna

This epigraph comes from Makrāna.<sup>1</sup> The inscriptional tablet measuring 50 by 30 cm. is fixed into the western wall of a step-well in a locality known after it as Muḥalla Bāorī.<sup>2</sup>

Comprising three lines of writing in Persian prose, preceded by the heading *Allāhu Akbar* (God is Great), the text comprises a notice put up by Mirzā ‘Alī Baig prohibiting the low caste people from drawing water from the *bā’ī* (step-well) along with other high caste men (*ashrāfān*). It further states that if, God forbid, a Muslim allowed it, he would be an unbeliever and if a Hindū (did it), the torture of *Chattū* (or *Chuttū* or *Chittū* (?)) would be his lot. It also states that (the notice was put up) on Friday the 1<sup>st</sup> Ramaḍān of the 25<sup>th</sup> regnal year corresponding to 1061 Hijra year (8 August 1651 A.D.), through Mirzā ‘Alī Baig.

The style of writing is fairly good *Nasta‘līq* in relief. The text however has been composed by some one not well conversant with Persian language.

The text has been read as under:

#### TEXT

Plate VII(b)

(۱) اللہ اکبر

(۲) چون مردم مکینه که درین بای بیکد گر مردم اشرافان آب پرمی کردند منع نموده شد

(۳) خدا نخواسته باشد اگر مسلمان رواداری این کند کافرست و اگر هندو عذاب چتو براو

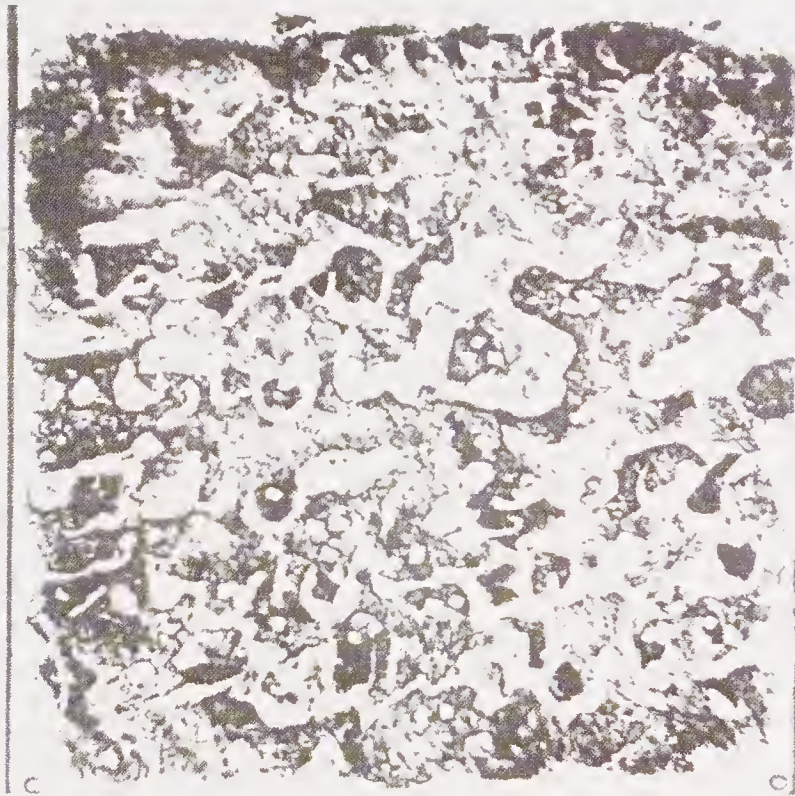
(۴) بتاریخ غره رمضان المبارک روز جمعہ سنہ ۲۵ جلوس ہمایوں موافق سنہ ۱۰۶۱ ہجری

اہتمام میرزا علی بیگ

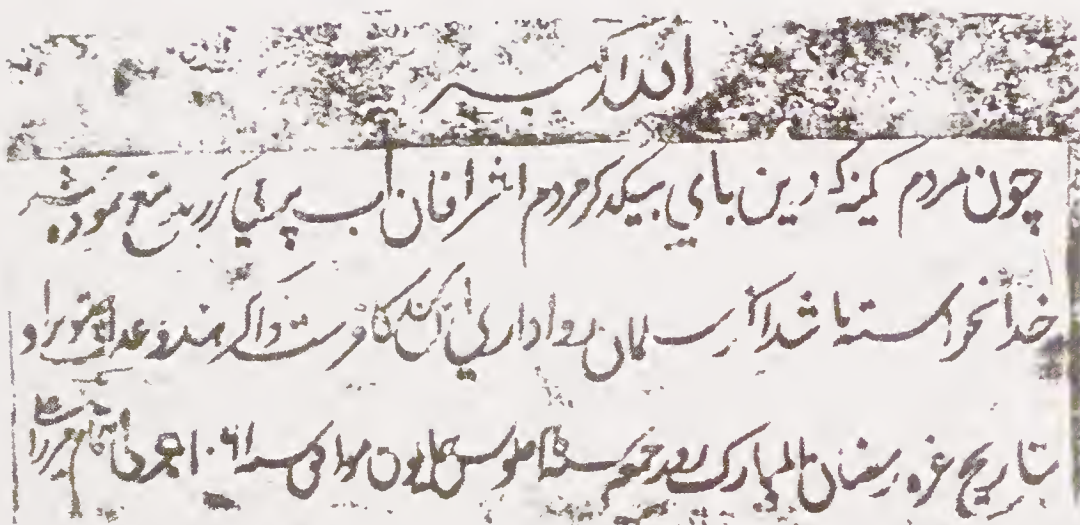
1. For inscriptions from Makrāna, see no. XI on page 34 above.

2. *AREp.*, 1962-63, No. D, 239; *PMIR*, No. 327.





(a) Inscription from Barambād, p. 37



(b) Inscription from a well at Makrāna, p. 38



## TRANSLATION

(1) God is Great.

(2) Since the low-caste people (*mardum-i-kamīna*) used to draw water (lit. fill water), from this *bā'ī* (step-well), together with the men of the elite community (*ashrāfān*)<sup>1</sup> (it was not proper; hence this) has been forbidden.

(3) God forbid, if a Muslim allows this (to be done), he is an unbeliever and if (he is a) Hindū, the torture ('*adhāb*) of *Chittū* (or *Chattū* or *Chatū*)<sup>2</sup> be upon him, i.e. his lot.

(4) On the date 1<sup>st</sup> of the blessed Ramadān, day Friday, year 25 of auspicious accession, corresponding to the year 1061 Hijrī (8 August 1651 A.D.) (under) the Superintendence of Mīrzā 'Alī Baig (this was put up).

The epigraph furnishes an example of the class prejudice that prevailed more or less in most parts of the country, in particular in Rājasthān. Apparently this was done by Mīrzā 'Alī Baig who appears to have been a local official, perhaps *Kotwāl*, more under local pressure than as an overall government policy. The Mīrzā does not find mention in historical works of this period.

**Inscription No. XV from Gunaoti**

The tablet bearing this bilingual inscription measuring 26 by 70 cm. is fixed in the western wall of a well, known as Pahād Kunwā after the name of its builder, at Gunaoti, near Makrāna in the Parbatsar tahsīl of Nāgaūr district.<sup>3</sup>

This important epigraph records the excavation and construction of a well and population of a village through the kindness of God and efforts of Pahād *Khān* in the locality containing mines (*kānāt*) at Kolhā Dungarī (Hills). This obviously refers to the mines of famous Makrāna white marble stone used in *Shāh Jahān*'s buildings at Delhi and Āgra including the Tāj Mahal. Kolhā Dungarī (or Kola Dungri, spotted on the Survey of India map at 26° 55' N 74° 40' E) is situated at a distance of about nine and six kilometres respectively to the south-west of Makrāna and Gunaoti. This took place in the 25<sup>th</sup> regnal year of *Shāh Jahān* corresponding to A. H. 1061 (1 Jumādā II to 30

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1. *Ashrāf* itself is a plural.

2. The word inscribed on the stone is can be pronounced in various ways. Its meaning I have not been able to ascertain.

3. *AREp.*, 1962-63, Nos. B, 890, D,236; *PMIR*, NO.328. Other inscriptions from the place are also listed there.

Dhi'l-Hijja 1061 or 12 May to 3 December 1651 A.D.).

The *Nāgarī* version is incised on stone to the left of the Persian record in nine lines. Dated Bhādrapada 11, V.S. 1708, it is in the local dialect. According to the Chief Epigraphist, Mysore, “The beginning of each line in the first part is missing and the second part is damaged. Seems to mention Sahījahaja (i.e. Shāh Jahān), in line 3. Probably records the construction of the well.” From the plate, the *Nāgarī* version appears to be fairly legible and could have been deciphered in full. If read properly and completely, it may furnish some more details.<sup>1</sup>

Its language is Persian and the style of writing fairly good *Nasta‘līq* in relief.

The text has been read as under :

TEXT  
*Plate VIII(a)*

(۱) اللہ اکبر  
(۲) سنہ ۲۵ موافق سنہ ۱۰۶۱ [۰] اعمد شاه جهان  
(۳) بادشاه صاحب قران ثانی واقعہ  
(۴) کانات کولہاد و نگری چاہ و دیہ بنای  
(۵) شد بکرم اللہ تعالیٰ و مشقت پہار خان

TRANSLATION

(1) Allāh is Great.

(2) In the year 25 corresponding to year (A.H.) 1061 (12 May – December 1651 A.D.) of the reign of Shāh Jahān

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1. It has been the experience of the writer of these lines that the Sanskrit inscriptions from parts other than South India are cursorily dealt with by the Office of the Chief Epigraphist after the retirement of Dr. D.C. Sircar. The main reason is that no non-South Indian Sanskritist with a background of history, etc. of other parts of the country is prepared to serve in South India, due to domestic reasons, mainly, food and children's education. During my tenure as Director (Epigraphy), I made unsuccessful attempts to rectify this great drawback.



(3) Bādshāh Ghāzī Ṣāhib Qirān-i-Thānī, situated

(4) In the quarries (mines) of Kolhā Dongrī, the well and the village was built and founded

(5) By the grace of the Exalted Allāh and efforts of Pahād Khān.

Pahād Khān mentioned in the inscription seems to be identical with Pahād Khān Nūhānī who first finds mention in the contemporary historical works in the events of A.H. 1055 (1645 A.D.). In that year which was the 19<sup>th</sup> regnal year of the emperor, on the death of Sayyid Khān Jahān, the famous eminent *amīr* of Shāh Jahān (see Inscription No.II), he was one of his thirty select retainers to be taken to imperial service on 2<sup>nd</sup> Sha‘bān 1055 (11 December 1645) and received a rank of 500 *dhāt* and 300 *sawār*. Later in the same year, on the last day of Dhi'l-Hijja 1055 (16 February 1646), he was drafted for the Mughal expedition sent against Nadhr Muḥammad Khān of Balkh and Badakhshān and as per the emperor's order of deployment of the army, he was to be placed in the Vanguard while on way to Balkh. In the next regnal year, in the course of the campaign, when some *manṣabdārs* were appointed by Madāru'l-Mahām Sa‘dullāh Khān, the leader of the said expedition, to be in charge of some places, Pahād Khān was given the charge of Darra-Ghaz on about 8 Rajab 1056 (20 August 1646). After his return, on about 9 Sha‘bān 1056 (20 September 1646) he was given increase in *manṣab*, according to the court historian ‘Abdu'l-Hamīd Lāhorī, author of the *Bādshāh Nāma*, who however does not specify the amount of the *manṣab*.

In the 22<sup>nd</sup> regnal year, on 18<sup>th</sup> Muḥarram 1059 (1 February 1649 A.D.), to be exact, he formed part of the contingent sent under Prince Aurangzeb and Sa‘dullāh Khān to wrest Qandahār from its Safāvid governor and was placed in the left Flank (*Ṭarḥ*) of the army. He was present in the contingent of Rustam Khān which faced the Safavid force on the bank of Arghandāb in the regnal year 23, on 12 Sha‘bān 1059 (21 August 1649). In the 25<sup>th</sup> regnal year, on 16 Rabī‘ I 1062 (26 February 1652), he was placed in the right Flank by Sa‘dullāh Khān. He was also sent on active service in the 26<sup>th</sup> regnal year, under orders issued on 24 Ṣafar 1063 (24 January 1653). In the regnal year 28, on 2 Dhu'l-Qa‘da 1064 (14 September 1654 A.D.), he was in the army sent under command of Sa‘du'llāh Khān to demolish the unauthorized fortifications of Chittorgarh fort. In the regnal year 28, on or about 26 Ṣafar 1065 (26 December 1654), he was attached to Khalīlu'llāh Khān who was sent to suppress the rebellion of the Rāja of Srinagar in the

northern hills of Garhwāl region. That he was a *manṣabdār* of sufficient importance is indicated by the fact that Khalīlu'llāh Khān left him in charge of a newly established blockade at Bahādurpūr between the Ganges and the Jamuna in the Dūn region when he proceeded further on 9 Jumādā I 1065 (7 March 1655).

Nothing further is known about him from the contemporary records. The epigraph under notice and two more studied in this article (Nos. XVI and XVIII) dated A.H. 1062 (1651-52 A.D.), and 1064 (1654 A.D.) respectively provide the important information that Pahād Khān either had his fief in the Makrāna region or was posted there in some capacity. They also show how much Pahād Khān cared to alleviate the difficulties of the local populace, which throughout western Rājasthān suffered from scanty rains and hence water difficulty.

Surprisingly, the place of the (marble) mines Kolhā Dungarī of the inscription – Kolā Dungarī of the Survey of India map mentioned above – has not been spotted in the *Atlas of the Mughal Empire*, Map 6A and 6B, 27+ and 74+, where only Makrāna and the sign Q for quarries occur respectively.

### **Inscription No. XVI from Barī Khātū**

This inscription, also mentioning Pahād Khān of the previous inscription and dated in the same regnal year 25 corresponding to the later part of the Hijra year 1062 (1 Muḥarram to 30 Jumādā I 1062 / 4 December 1651-29 April 1652 A.D.) is to be found at Barī Khātū. The epigraphical tablet, measuring 50 by 40 cm. is built up into a wall to the west of the tomb proper of the saint Samman Shāh.<sup>1</sup> About the saint, hagiographical works are totally silent, but another inscription on the same tomb, recording the construction of the tomb in A.H. 802 (1399-1400 A.D.), states that the saint had died in A.H. 648 (1250-51 A.D.).<sup>2</sup>

The epigraph states that in the regnal year 25 corresponding to A.H. 1062 (1651-52 A.D.), the pinnacle of the dome of the illumined tomb of His Holiness Shāh Samman was provided through the grace of God by Pahād Khān.<sup>3</sup>

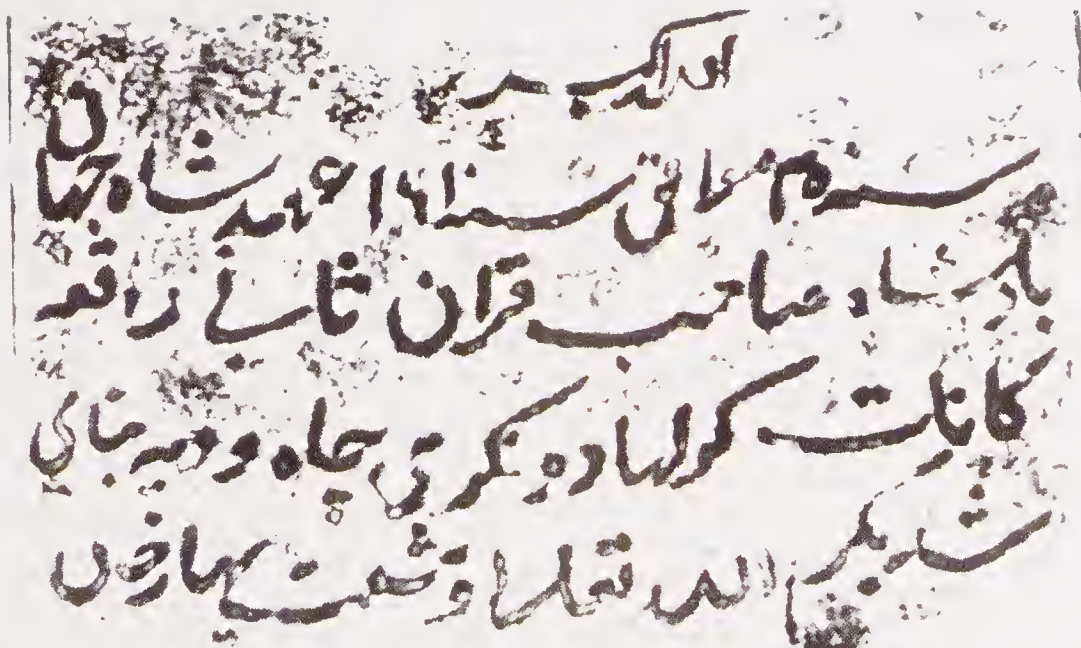
The language of the record is Persian and the style of writing is quite good *Nasta'liq* in relief, which despite the fact that the letters have lost their sharpness due to weathering of the stone is quite pleasing.

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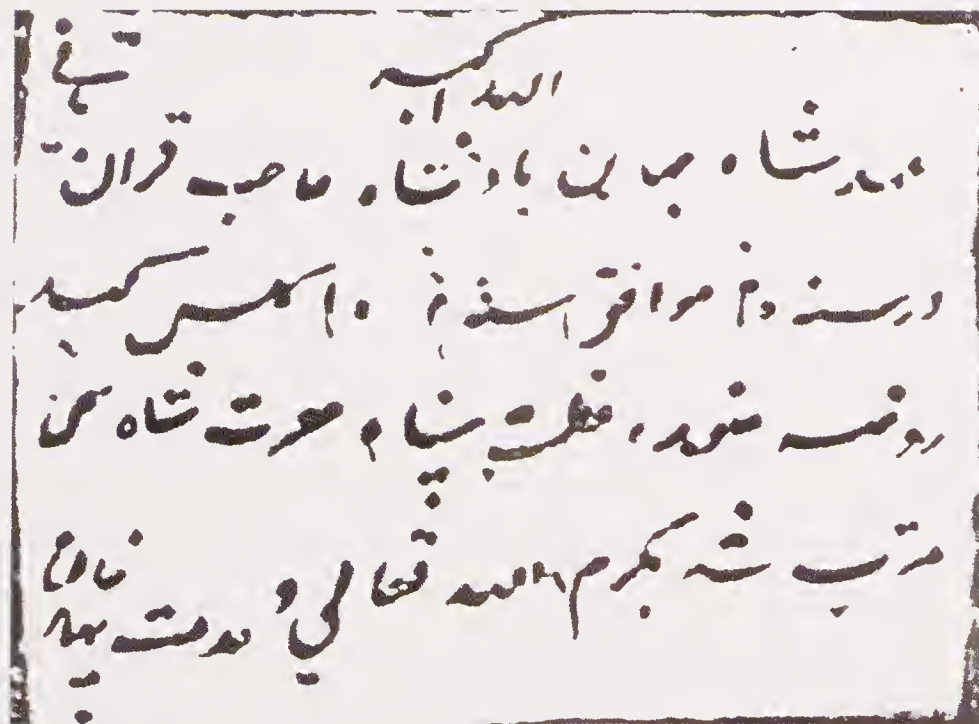
1. *AREp.*, 1958-59, No.D, 178; *PMIR*, No.120.

2. *AREp.*, 1958-59, No.D, 177; *PMIR*, No.105.

3. In *AREp.* and *PMIR*, the inscription is reported to refer to the construction of the dome of the saint's tomb.



(a) Inscription from Gunaoti, p. 40



(b) Inscription from the tomb of Shāh Samman at Barī Khātū, p. 43





The text reads as under:

TEXT  
*Plate VIII(b)*

- (۱) اللہ اکبر  
(۲) عہد شاہ جہان بادشاہ صاحب قران ثانی  
(۳) در سنہ ۲۵ موافق سنہ ۱۰۶۲ [۶] اگلے گنبد  
(۴) روضہ منورہ عظمت پناہ حضرت شاہ سمن  
(۵) مرتب شد بکرم اللہ تعالیٰ و خدمت پہار خان

TRANSLATION

- (1) Allāh is Great.  
(2) In the reign of Shāh Jahān Bādshāh Sāhib-Qirān-i-Thānī  
(3) In the (regal) year 25 corresponding to the year (A.H.) 1062 (4 December 1651-29 April 1652)<sup>1</sup>, the pinnacle (*kalash*) of the dome of  
(4) The illumed tomb of the asylum of magnificence, His Holiness Shāh Samman  
(5) Was provided (lit. got ready) through the grace of the exalted Allāh and service of Pahād Khān.

Pahād Khān's career has been detailed above.

**Inscription No. XVII from Barambād**

This inscription is from a ruined mosque in a field near the Mughal Bāolī, at Barambād, in Bayāna Tahsīl of Bharatpūr district.<sup>2</sup> It comprises in the main three lines of writing in Persian including the First Creed in Arabic and assigns the construction of a mosque to the servant of the court Ḥasan Baig in A.H. 1063 (1652-53) in the reign of Shāh Jahān.

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1. The regnal year 25 started on the 1<sup>st</sup> Jumādā II A.H. 1061 and ended on the last day of Jumādā I A.H. 1062.  
2. *AREp.*, 1972-73, No. D 84.

The writing is slightly damaged. The script is fairish *Nasta'liq* except that of the First Creed which shows distinct traces of *Naskh*.

The reading of the text is as follows :

TEXT  
*Plate IX(a)*

(۱) اللہ اکبر  
(۲) لا اله الا الله محمد رسول الله  
(۳) درایام جلوس شهنشاه شاه جهان بادشاه  
(۴) بنده درگاه حسن بیگ این مسجد ساخت  
(۵) سنہ ۱۰۶۳

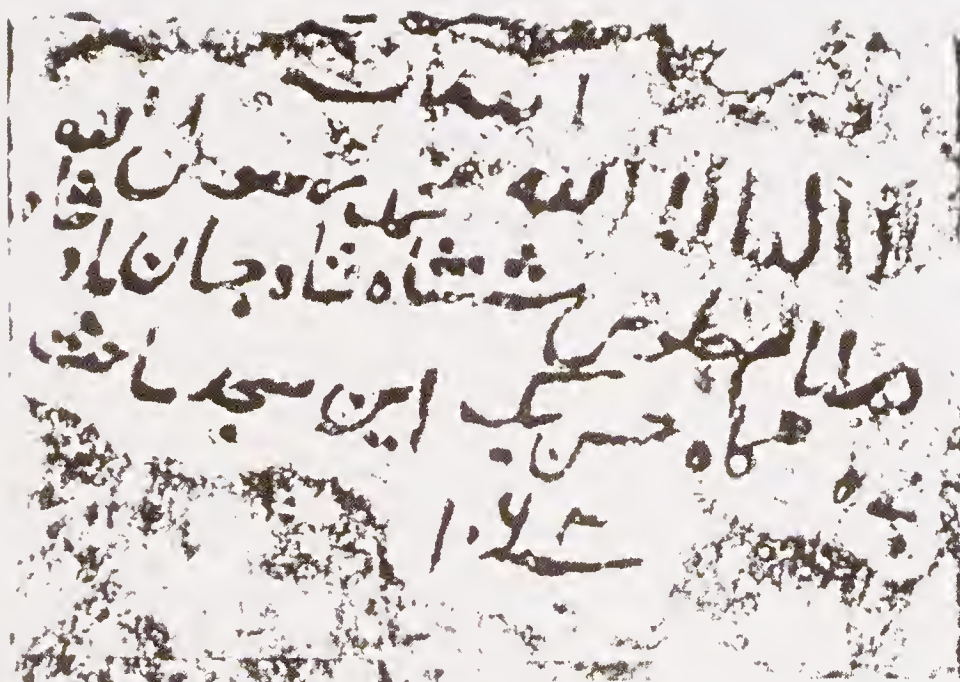
TRANSLATION

- (1) Allāh is Great.
- (2) There is no god but Allāh. Muḥammad is the Prophet of Allāh.
- (3) In the days of the reign (lit. accession to the throne) of the emperor Shāh Jahān Bādshāh,
- (4) The servant of the court Ḥasan Baig constructed this mosque.
- (5) Year (A.H.) 1063 (1652-53 A.D.).

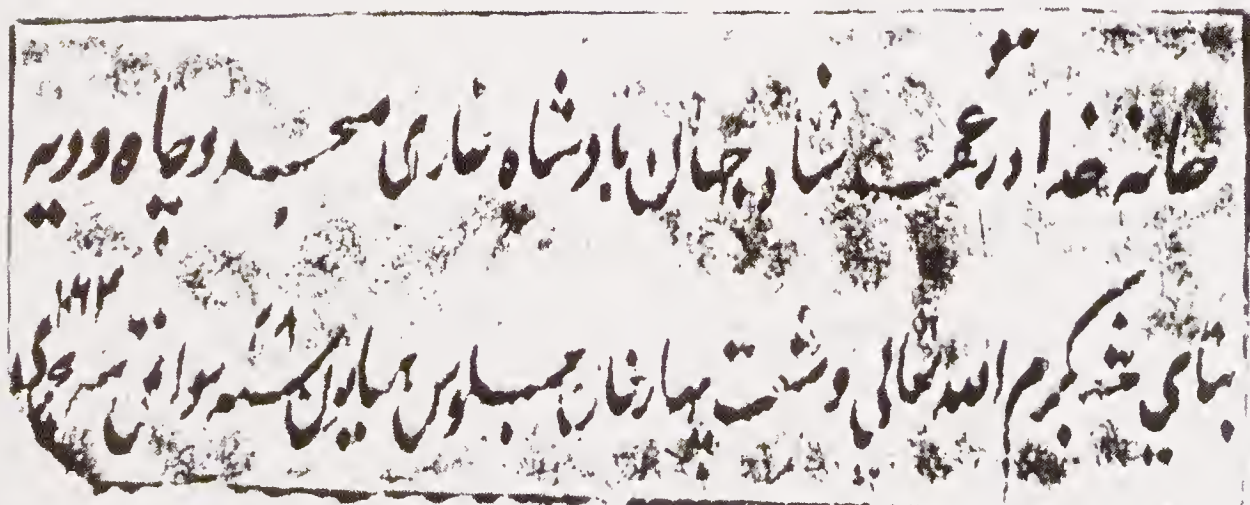
Ḥasan Baig is mentioned in the text as the servant of the court that is to say an official, but what post he held is not specified therein. It is difficult to identify him with any certainty, with three persons bearing this name, mentioned in contemporary historical works, namely Ḥasan Baig, Ḥasan Baig Turkmān and Ḥasan Baig Khān.<sup>1</sup> Ḥasan Baig of our inscription is evidently some one other than the last-mentioned as he did not hold the title Khān. He may also be different from Ḥasan Baig Turkmān Qawāchī of the ruler of Irān who had deserted his master at Qandahār and entered Mughal service in the 22<sup>nd</sup> regnal year in A.H. 1058 (1648 A.D.). The third Ḥasan Baig

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1. See Begley and Desai, *op.cit.*, Index under Ḥasan Baig.



(a) Inscription from a mosque at Barambād, p. 44



(b) Inscription from Gunaoti (Makrāna), p. 45





finds mention in the events of the regnal year 26. He was granted a horse and asked on 11 Sha‘bān 1062 (1 July 1652 A.D.) to escort the imperial treasure from Ghaznīn to the court, when the Mughal army was returning from Qandahār after lifting the siege. If at all, he may be identical with Ḥasan Baig of the inscription under notice.

### **Inscription No. XVIII from Gunaoti (Makrāna)**

This is one more inscription of Pahād Khān. The tablet on which it is engraved in *Nasta‘līq* style of a fairly high quality, is fixed above the *mihrāb* of the mosque near Pahād Kunwā at Gunaoti.<sup>1</sup> Two more inscriptions of this place are included in this study (Nos. XV and XVI).

The epigraphical tablet seems to have been exposed to elements of nature as a result of which the writing has been affected and the letters lost a little of their sharpness of relief and shape. Nevertheless, it proclaims itself to be from the pen of a professional calligrapher, wellversed in *Nasta‘līq* penmanship; unfortunately he does not give his name.

The record states that the house of God (i.e. a mosque) and a well and a village were built and founded through the generosity of the exalted Allāh and through the efforts and will of Pahād Khān in the 28<sup>th</sup> year of the august accession corresponding to 1064 Hijrī (1 Jumādā II – 29 Dhu'l-Hijja 1064 = 9 April – 31 October 1654 A.D.).

The tablet measures 26 by 70 cm. and the text reads as follows:

#### TEXT

*Plate IX(b)*

(۱) هو

(۲) خانه خدا در عهد شاه جهان بادشاه غازی مسجد و چاه و دیه

(۳) بنای شد بکرم اللہ تعالیٰ و مشقت پہار خان جلوس ہمایوں سنہ

۲۸ مطابق سنہ ۱۰۶۴ ہجری

1. *AREp.*, 1962-63, No. D, 237; *PMIR*, No. 329.

## TRANSLATION

- (1) He (is Allāh)  
 (2) The house of God. In the reign of Shāh Jahān Bādshāh Ghāzī – a mosque, a well and a village  
 (3) were built and founded, through the generosity of the exalted Allāh and efforts of Pahād Khān (in) the 28<sup>th</sup> year of the august accession, corresponding to [1 Jumādā II – 30 Dhī'l-Hijja] 1064 Hijrī (October 31, 1654 A.D.).

A detailed account of Pahād Khān's career has already been given above.

**Inscription No. XIX from Amarpūr**

The tablet bearing this inscription is to be seen on the central *mihrāb* of a non-descript modest mosque in the village Amarpūr of Nāgaur district, situated 27° 14' latitude and 73° 67' longitude, at a distance of hardly five six kilometres from the district headquarters.<sup>1</sup> It is comparatively quite well preserved and the writing is quite sharp and without any sign of weathering.

The record comprises five lines of writing in Persian, which seems to be from the pen of one not familiar with the art of good writing. That this was his first attempt is clear from the fact that he started the first line on the given size of the slab with large-sized letters, but realizing, after inscribing three words, the inadequacy of space for the somewhat lengthy text, he tried to adjust the same by adopting smaller size for the letters of the remaining portion.

The inscription merely records the construction of a mosque in the village Dīnjāwās by Muḥammad son of 'Uthmān Chauhān during the reign of Sultān Shihābu'd-Dīn Abu'l-Muzaffar Muḥammad Ṣāhib Qirān-i-Thānī Shāh Jahān and is dated 5<sup>th</sup> of Dhī'l-Hijja, year (Hijra) 1065 (26 September 1653 A.D.) given in words.

The inscription occupies a writing space of 45 by 30 cm. and the style of writing is *Nasta'liq* with strong *Naskh*-like flourishes, of no merit at all; its letters are also of uneven size indicating that it has been scribed by a person not having technical knowledge of calligraphy. In case of two tablets executed in fine *Nasta'liq* style we have seen the excellence of penmanship.

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1. *AREp.*, 1961-62, No. D, 239; *PMIR*, No.68.

The text reads as under:

TEXT  
*Plate X (a)*

- (۱) بنا کرا این مسجد در  
(۲) موضع دینجاواس بتوفیق اللہ  
(۳) تعالیٰ محمد بن عثمان چوہان در عہد ابو  
(۴) المظفر سلطان شہاب الدین محمد صاحب قران ثانی شاہ جہان  
(۵) بادشاہ غازی الخامس من شہر ذی الحج سنہ خمس و ستین و الف

TRANSLATION

- (1) This mosque was constructed in  
(2) The village Dīnjāwās, through the grace of the Allāh  
(3) The Exalted, by Muḥammad son of ‘Uṭhmān Chauhān during the reign of  
Abu'l  
(4) Muẓaffar Sultān Shihābu'd-Dīn Muḥammad Ṣāhib Qirān-i-Thānī Shāh  
Jahān  
(5) Bādshāh Ghāzī on the 5<sup>th</sup> of the month of Dhī'l-Ḥijja, year (A.H.) five and  
sixty and one thousand (5 Dhī'l-Ḥijja 1065 = 26 September 1653 A.D.).

This inscription, as will be seen from the above does not provide any new information about any aspect of local history. However, its importance lies in the fact that it has preserved the name of an old locality or village Dīnjāwās in which the original mosque was constructed. No notice of this aspect of the importance of this inscription which was brought to light as early as in 1974 (when the epigraphical report for 1968-69 in which it was listed saw the light of the day), was taken until 1992, when Dr. G.S. Khwāja of the Office of the Superintending Epigraphist, Nāgpūr, read a paper entitled “Dīnjāwās – A Place Name” at the XIII Session of the Place-Names Society of India held in that year; it was published in the Society’s Journal.<sup>1</sup> Dr. Khwāja was kind

1. *Studies in Indian Place Names (JPNS)*, vol. XIII, pp.68-71.



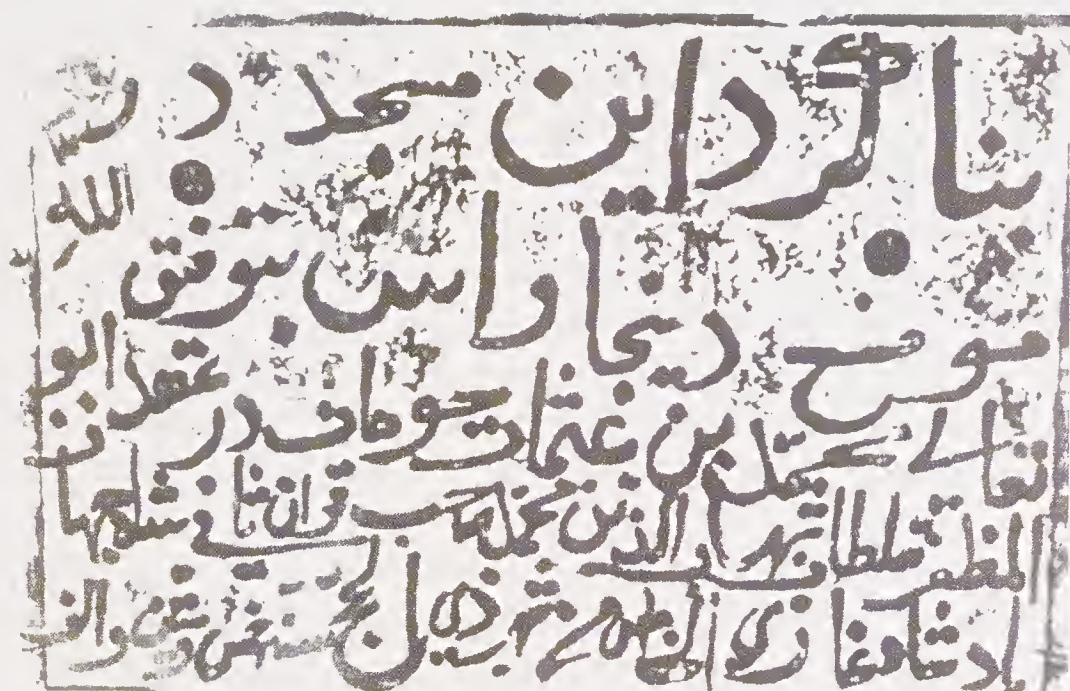
enough to send me a copy of his paper through Mr. S.S. Hussain, Assistant Superintending Epigraphist (now retired) who then held charge of the Office of the Superintending Epigraphist, Nāgpūr, but being busy otherwise I had stored it away after perusal. Another copy thereof has been recently sent to me by Dr. M. I. Quddūsī, Superintending Epigraphist while providing the photograph, reading, etc. of the inscription for a detailed study of the inscription to be included in this article of inscriptions of Shāh Jahān from Rājasthān.<sup>1</sup> This made me take a close look at and examine Dr. Khawāja's article which is based on the contents of the inscription.

Dr. Khawāja's thesis comprises two points: Firstly, that the village Dīnjāwās was named Amarpūra after Rāo Amar Singh Rāthor, the elder son of Rāja Gaj Singh who was superseded in the rulership claim of Jodhpūr by his younger brother Jaswant Singh under the will of their father. However, Amar Singh who was the grandson of emperor Shāh Jahān's real maternal uncle Rāja Sūraj Singh, father of Gaj Singh, received the title Rāo and the fief of the Nāgaur *pargana* with a *manṣab* of 3,000 *dhāt* and 1,000 *sawār* in the 11<sup>th</sup> year of that emperor's reign.<sup>2</sup> But taking note of the fact that the inscription under study dated 1655 A.D. was set up more than a decade after the death of Amar Singh in 1644, Dr. Khawāja concluded that the change of the name had occurred not at the behest of Amar Singh, but he considered it most likely that it was renamed by his son Rāi Singh in memory of his father.<sup>3</sup>

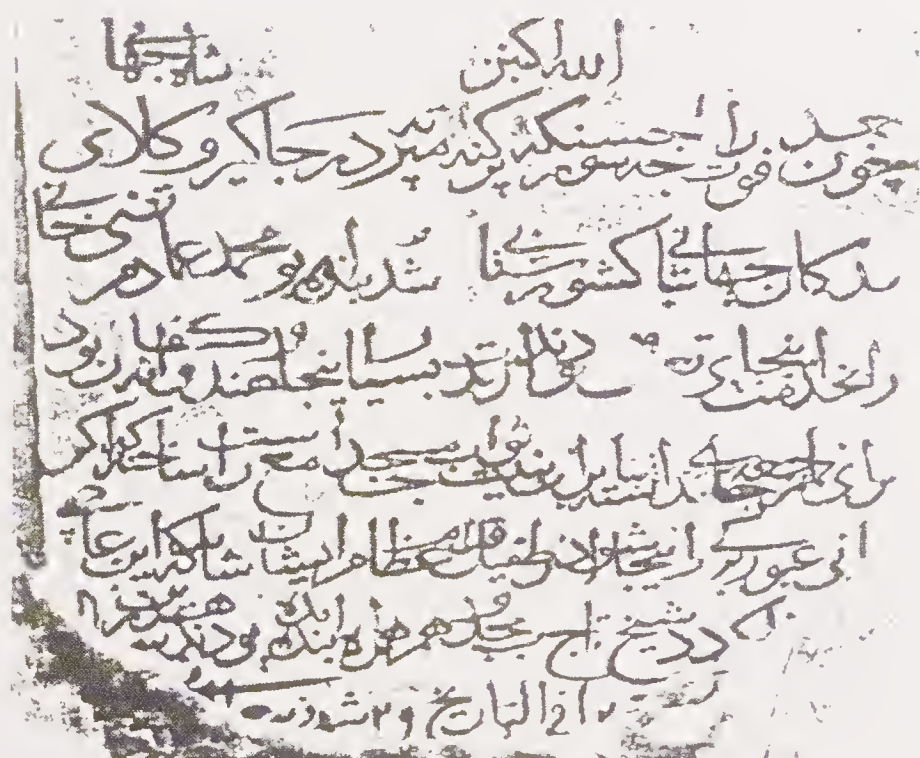
However, the entire question of renaming rests on one thing which has been overlooked by Dr. Khawāja. That is, whether the inscriptional tablet is *in situ* or it belonged to any place other than Amarpūr or to another mosque in that village itself. Dr. Khawāja missed a significant remark in the notice of this inscription in the

1. To all of them I am grateful.
2. *Studies*, p.69, quoting G.H. Jha, *Jodhpūr Rājya-kā Itihās*, pt. I, p.410. This is given by 'Abdu'l-Hamīd Lāhorī, *Bādshāh Nāma*, vol. II (Calcutta, 1868), p.97.
3. Dr. Khawāja (*Studies*, *op.cit.*, p.69) quotes the instance of the name of a suburban locality Rāo Rāsāpūra, named after Rāo Rāi Singh, situated near Aurangābād, Mahārashtra, where Rāo Rai Singh, stayed for a considerable period of time. The analogy is not clear to me. Even otherwise, Shāh Nawāz Khān, vol.II (Text), p.236, quoted by him does not mention his stay at Aurangābād for a considerable period of time. That Rāo Rāsāpūra was named after him, there is no doubt. It may be noted that Shāh Nawāz Khān does not mention at all the grant of Mewār *pargana* to Amar Singh or Rāi Singh as stated by Dr. Khawāja. Therefore, the analogy of Rāo Rāsāpūra does not seem to hold good. Then again, Dr. Khawāja's statement, as it reads, *only* refers to the naming of a locality – newly founded or old that is not specified – *after* and not necessarily *by* him. The analogy would have held good if an *old* locality were named after Amar Singh in memory by his son. In short, there would be some solid basis for this thesis.





(a) Inscription from Amarpūr, p. 47



(b) Inscription from Jāmi' Masjid at Merta city, p. 59



epigraphical report. It was specifically stated therein that *provided the inscription is in situ*, it would mean that Amarpūr was originally called Dīnjāwās.<sup>1</sup> In other words, the change of the name from Dīnjāwās to Amarpūr would only hold good if it is known for certain that the tablet belonged to the place now known as Amarpūr. As it is, we have no definite information on this particular point. Rather circumstantial evidence there is another inscription of Aurangzeb's time also recording the construction of a mosque built up in the wall of a chamber attached to this mosque, absence of any building of note including the present mosque in the town, etc. would support a contrary view that the slab may not originally belong to its present place. Thus, it would not be correct to assert that the name of the village Dīnjāwās was changed to Amarpura after the name of the Rāo Amar Singh by Rāo Rai Singh in memory of his father, unless some weighty evidence is found.

Rather, it would be correct to make a plausible guess namely that a village Dīnjāwās which is not traceable on modern maps which once existed on the site of the present village or in its vicinity – became desolate and all but disappeared from the surface of the world and that a new village was populated there by Rāo Amar Singh during his life-time, giving his name to it and the surviving inscriptional slab from the old site of Dīnjāwās, wherever it was, was brought at some date, perhaps, later, and fixed up in the local mosque, again very probably along with the tablet bearing Aurangzeb's inscription, referred to above.

The second point which Dr. Khwāja tries to make is about the etymology of the name, Dīnjāwās. Here too, he seems to be a little off the mark. Stating on the basis of the popular law of christening (of places), that Dīnjāwās was named after “some Dīnjāh dictionaryally saying (sic.) ‘grandeur of faith’, in support of his assertion he sought to trace and identify this ‘Dīnjāh who had stayed at this place’, with Ṣūfī Ḥamīdu'd-Dīn Su'ālī Nāgaurī, well-known as Sultānu't-Tārikīn (A. H.673/1274 A.D.) and considered it a strong possibility that a *wās* (stay) of Ṣūfī Ḥamīdu'd-Dīn made “the local population to designate this village as Dīnjāhwās which was further corrupted to simply Dīnjāwās”.<sup>2</sup>

This view also does not stand the test of veracity. There is no word as *Dīnjāh* in the dictionary and the suffix *Jāh* is usually appended to proper names or names possessing dignity like Sulaimān-Jāh (of Solomon's dignity) Jam-Jāh (of Jamshīd's dignity), Āsmān-Jāh (of heavenly dignity), etc. Also to translate *Dīn-Jāh* as “grandeur of faith” would not be correct; if at all, the phrase would mean ‘of religious dignity’

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1. *AREp.*, 1961-62, p.31.

2. For details, see Khwāja, *op.cit.*, p.70.



which makes no sense. On the other hand, a plausible guess would be that if at all, Dīnjāwās could be *Dīn-jā-wās* i.e. abode or habitation (*wās*) of (*jā* – as in Sindhi) religion (*Dīn*).

### **Inscription No. XX from Merta City**

This inscription comprises twelve lines in Persian except the first two which contain *Basmala* and First Creed with some writing in the right and bottom margins which has not come out well and complete in the impression. The inscriptional tablet measuring 65 by 85 cm. occurs on the central *mihrāb* of the ‘Īdgāh of Merta City, a tahsīl headquarters of Nāgaur district.<sup>1</sup> Merta City is a place of sufficient historical interest and finds frequent mention in the historical works of the Mughal period.<sup>2</sup>

The Persian text is intended to be metrical, one hemistich a line, but it is so just in name. Then again, the statement in the fourth verse, would imply that the builder Farāsāt Khān is also the composer of the text. But the last hemistich would seem to imply that one Shāh ‘Alī may be the versifier. The style of writing is ordinary *Nasta‘līq* and the text is engraved in relief.

The epigraph the letters of which are also affected by weather with the result that a few of them are not legible states that in the reign of the king of the world (Shāh Jahān), the ‘Īdgāh was constructed through the kindness of the king and Mahārāja (inscribed Mahārājān) Jaswant (?) Singh and the illumined edifice was built through the grace of the Compassionate Lord by Farāsāt Khān and Miṣrī son of Bahādur Khān and that when the reckoning of the year was the Prophet’s (i.e. Hijrī) year one thousand and sixtysix, and the month, Rabī‘ I, this *Ka‘ba*-like (edifice) was made ready. It also adds that Farāsāt invoked prayers in the presence of the obliging Lord to keep safe the edifice till (the day of) Resurrection. The meaning of the last hemistich, in which a word or two have lost their sharpness of relief and hence are not legible is not clear; it seems to mention ‘the one who prays (for the welfare of people)’, ‘Shāh ‘Alī Nūr (?), a Muslim and a beggar (?). The writing in the top border reads *nad‘ū* (lit. we pray), while that in the right border which contains a couple of names is not clear, but one of the names seems to read like Sayyid Amīr Muḥammad (?). The writing in the bottom border also is not completely legible except the year

1. *AREp.*, 1964-65, No. D, 335; *PMIR*, No.338.

2. This city, due to similarity in spelling in Arabic script, is very frequently confused by modern writers, with Mīrath (Meerut), a district headquarters in Uttar Pradesh.



(A.H.) 1066 and the words “the ‘Īdgāh was (constructed)”. It will be noted that between lines 10 and 11 are engraved the words *banda-i-dargāh* (servant of the court); there seems to have been some connection between this and the names in the right border referred to above.

Below is quoted the reading of the text:

TEXT

*Plate XI*

(a) In the top border ..... ?

(b) The epigraph proper

- (۱) بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم
- (۲) لا اله الا الله محمد رسول الله
- (۳) عیدگاه نموده بدورشاه جهان
- (۴) زلف شاه [جسونت] سنگه مهاراجان
- (۵) بنای ساخت منور بعنائیت رحمان
- (۶) فراست خان و مصری ابن بهادر خان
- (۷) سنه الف نبوی و شصت شش شمار
- (۸) شهر ربیع<sup>۱</sup> الاول مرتب این کعبه وار
- (۹) دعای خواند فراست ز حضرت منان
- (۱۰) سجودگاه مسلمان و صواب هر دو جهان
- (۱۱) عمارت تا بقیامت نگهدار خدا
- (۱۲) دعاگوی خادم (?) شاه علی نور (?) مسلمان و گدا

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1. Scribal error for ربیع 'Rabī'.

(c) Between lines 10 and 11 :-

بندہ درگاہ

(d) Right border :-

سید امیر محمد ..... وسید پیر محمد خزانچی

(e) Bottom border :-

..... سنہ ۱۰۶۶ عید گاہ شد

#### TRANSLATION

(a) We pray.

- (b) (1) In the name of Allāh the Compassionate, the Merciful.  
 (2) There is no god but Allāh, Muḥammad is the Prophet of Allāh.  
 (3) The ‘Īdgāh was built (lit. made) in the reign of Shāh Jahān  
 (4) through the kindness of the king and Mahārājān (sic.) Jaswant (?) Singh.  
 (5) The illumined edifice was constructed by the grace of the God  
 (6) By Farāsat Khān and Miṣrī son of Bahādur Khān.  
 (7) Year of the Prophet (was) one thousand and sixty six in reckoning (and)  
 (8) Month Rabī‘ I, (when) this *ka’ba*-like (edifice) got made.  
 (9) Farāsat Khān prays to the obliging Lord’s presence :  
 (10) “(This) place of prostration of the Muslims, for the merit of both the  
 worlds,  
 (11) O God ! Keep intact its edifice till the [Day of ] Resurrection.  
 (12) The prayer-invoking attendant Shāh ‘Alī Nūr (?) for (the welfare of)  
 Muslims and beggars.

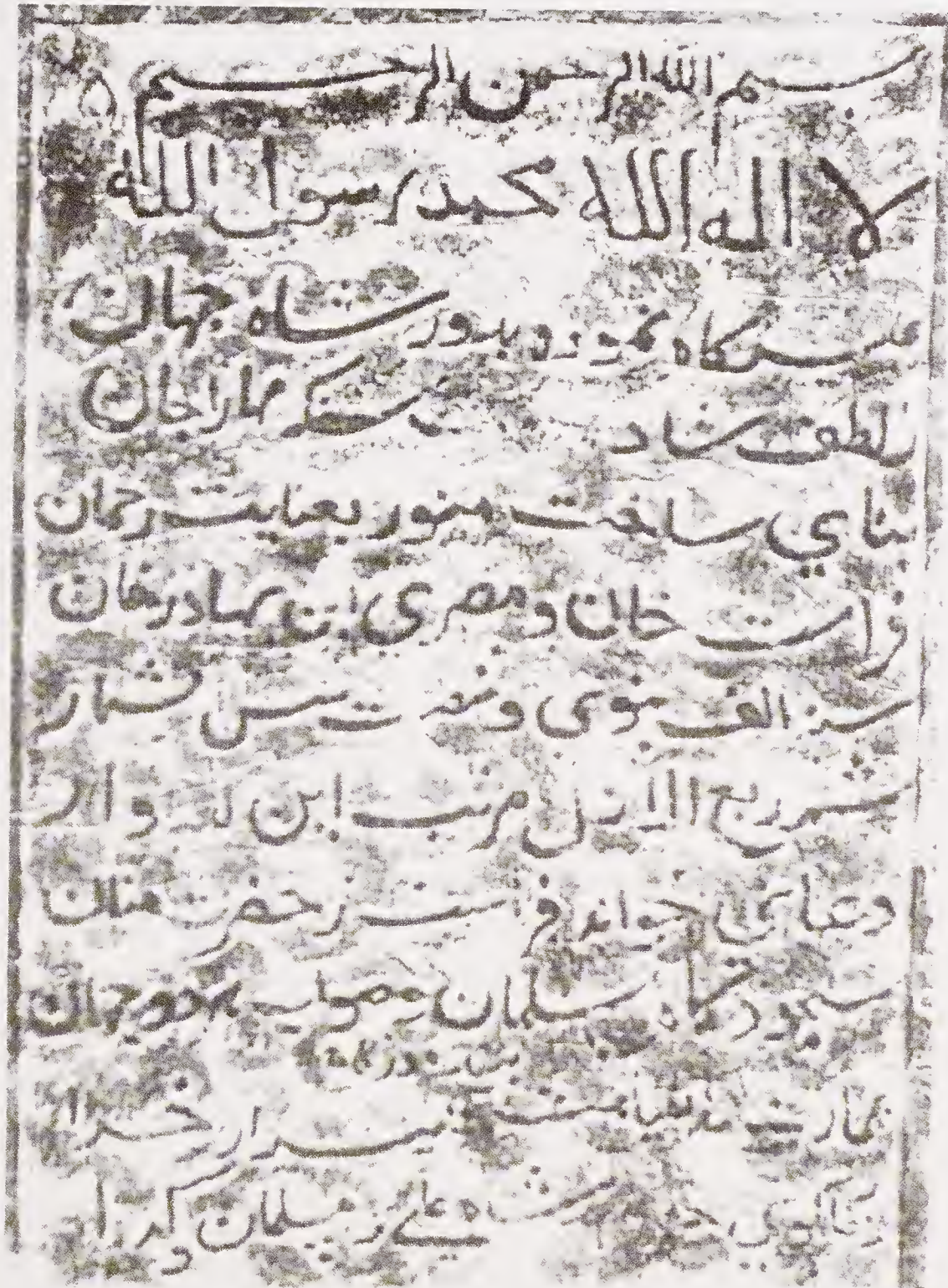
(c) The servant of the court

(d) ..... Sayyid Amīr Muḥammad (?) ..... Pīr Muḥammad Khazānchī (?)

(e) ..... Year (A.H.) 1066 (Rabī‘I 1060 = December 1656 – January 1657 A.D.),  
 the ‘Īdgāh came into being.

Despite the awful quality of the text which has rendered the proper presentation of its purport extremely difficult, the inscription is quite important, particularly on account of the mention of Farāsat Khān who is comparatively well-known. He was a Khawājasarā. He first finds mention in the 18<sup>th</sup> regnal year of the emperor as one of the *amīrs* of rank who received bequests from the emperor on the occasion of his recovery from illness; towards the end of Ramaḍān A.H. 1054 (end of November 1644), he had





Inscription from 'Idgāh at Merta city, p. 51





received a robe of honour and a *manṣab* of 1,000 *dhāt* and 100 *sawār*.<sup>1</sup> In the same year, on 11 Safar (8 April 1645), he received with an increase of 100 *sawār*, a *manṣab* of 1,000 *dhāt* and 200 *sawār*. On the day of the Lunar Weighing ceremony in the 20<sup>th</sup> Regnal year, on 8 Rabī‘ II 1057 (13 May 1647), he received an increase of 50 *sawār*, making his *manṣab* 1,000 *dhāt* and 250 *sawār*.

In the following regnal year, on 13 Ramaḍān 1057 (12 October 1647), he was exalted with a robe of honour, an increase of 500 *dhāt* and 150 *sawār* in his *manṣab*, making it 1,500 *dhāt* 400 *sawār* and was appointed as *Nāẓir* (Superintendent) of the Royal seraglio, on the death of Fīrūz Khān Khwājasarā. On the occasion of the Lunar Weighing ceremony in the same year, on 24 Rabī‘ I 1058 (18 April 1648), his *manṣab* was raised to 1,500 *dhāt* and 500 *sawār*. In the beginning of the 23<sup>rd</sup> regnal year, on 16 Jumādā II 1059 (27 June 1649), he made a request to retire, due to old age and resigned from service which was accepted. After about more than a year in retirement, he sought permission to go to the visit of the two holy cities of Makka and Madīna and on 1<sup>st</sup> Ramaḍān 1060 (18 August 1650), he was granted leave, a robe of honour and 500 *mohars*. He was also commissioned to take with him 150,000 rupees worth commodities of Gujarāt which the *mutaṣaddīs* (officials) of Gujarāt were to keep ready for him. These were to be sold there, fetching a hundred per cent profit. Out of the amount of 300,000 thus realized, he was to hand over an amount of 100,000 rupees to Sharīf Zaid bin Sharīf Muḥammad, the Sharīf of Makka and distribute 100,000 rupees among the Sayyids, learned and pious men there, while the remaining 100,000 were to be distributed among the indigent and needy men of Madīna.

The date of the death of Farāsat Khān is not known. But he is reported to have held the same *manṣab* of 1,500 *dhāt*, 500 *sawār* which he held a little more than a year before his voluntary retirement in June 1649.<sup>2</sup>

It is not possible to identify Miṣrī son of Bahādur Khān who is the co-builder of the ‘Īdgāh.

As to the Mahārāja mentioned in the inscription, the portion on the stone

1. Ṣāliḥ Kambū, ‘*Amal-i-Ṣāliḥ*, Part II (Calcutta, 1932), p.418, calls him Farāsh Khān which is a scribal or editorial or printing mistake.
2. These details have been taken from ‘Abdu’l-Ḥamīd Lāhorī’s *Bādshāh Nāma* and Wārith’s *Pādshāh Nāma* as translated and annotated in Begley and Desai, *op.cit.*, vol.II, 261,272,439; vol.III, pp.15,62,108,147-48, etc.

containing his name being damaged, the name is not clear. It reads like Jaswant Singh Rāthod of Jodhpūr under whose permanent fief (*waṭan*) Merta then lay, received the title of Mahārāja in the 29<sup>th</sup> regnal year <sup>1</sup> which corresponds to the Hijra year mentioned in the text.

### **Another Inscription, No.XXI, from Merta City**

This inscription also comes from Merta city. The inscriptional tablet measuring 40 by 40 cm. is fixed above the central *mihrāb* of the mosque of Gāditān in the Sogāwās locality of the town. <sup>2</sup>

The epigraph comprises nine lines of writing of which the first three and part of the fourth contain a Quranic verse condemning those who prevent the use of mosques of God from the remembrance of His name therein and try to depopulate it. The historical portion which is in Persian states that this auspicious blessed mosque of stone was built in the reign of Sultān Shihābu'd-Dīn Muḥammad Ṣāhib Qirān-i-Thānī Shāh Jahān Bādshāh Ghāzī by Fīrūshāh son of 'Alāwal with the surname Rāthod. It bears the date, evidently of writing or setting up of the stone, which may have coincided with the completion of the mosque, namely the day of 'Īdu'l-Fiṭr i.e. 1<sup>st</sup> Shawwāl, year A.H. 1066 (13 July 1656 A.D.). The year is given both in figure and in Arabic words.

The name of the scribe of the record cannot be deciphered fully. It reads something like Qāḍī 'Abdu'l..... Evidently, he belonged to the local Qāḍī family. The style of writing is quite good; the writing particularly of its Arabic portion is noteworthy. While the script on the whole is a curious mixture of *Naskh-Nasta'liq*, that in the Quranic verse part shows definite traces of the *Bahār* style which, it may be remembered, is mostly restricted to the 15<sup>th</sup> –16<sup>th</sup> transcripts of the Qur'ān.<sup>3</sup> It is possible that the Qāḍī might have seen a copy of the Holy Qur'ān transcribed in *Bahār* script and copied out the verses in question in his transcript of the inscription to be carved out on the stone. The Persian portion of the text also does show flourishes of the same script, but since the scribe had to transcribe it on his own, without any ready

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1. Shāh Nawāz Khān, *op.cit.*, vol.I, p.754. The regnal year 29 started from 1 Jumādā II 1065 and ended on the last day of Jumādā I 1066 (29 March 1655-16 March 1656 A.D.).
  2. *AREp.*, 1964-65, No.D, 338; *PMIR*, No.339.
  3. For *Bahār* calligraphic style and its probable origin, see G.S. Farīd, *Khatt-i-Bahārī*, an Indian script of Arabic writing', *Indo-Iranica*, vol.29 (1976), pp.102-12 and Dr. Waḥid Quraishi, 'Khatt-i-Bahār' (in Urdu), *Majalla-i-Taḥqīq, Journal of the Faculty of Islamic Studies and Oriental Languages*, Panjab University, Lahore, vol I, Nos.1-2, ca.1978, pp.111-28.

model before him unlike in the case of Quranic text, he probably tried but was not successful resulting in the curious mixture of *Naskh-Nasta'liq* and *Bahār*, as in the delineation of the letters *nūn*, *yā*, etc. Very probably the text was also composed by him. It is fairly correct.

The inscription has been read as under :

TEXT

Plate XII

- (۱) ومن اظلم ممن منع مساجد الله ان  
 (۲) يذكر فيها اسمه وسعى في خرابها  
 (۳) اولئك ما كان لهم ان يدخلوها الا  
 (۴) خائفين بنا كرواين مسجد ميمونه متبركه  
 (۵) در عهد سلطان شهاب الدين محمد صاحب  
 (۶) قران ثانی شاه جهان بادشاه غازی  
 (۷) خلد الله تعالى ملكه بنده خاكپای درویشان  
 (۸) فیروشه ابن علاول عرف راتهور بتاریخ  
 (۹) روز عید الفطر سنه ۱۰۶۶ است ستون الف راقمه قاضی عبد.....

TRANSLATION

- (1) 'And who is more unjust than he who prohibits the name of Allāh being  
 (2) Mentioned therein and seeks to ruin them?  
 (3) They are (men) for whom it is not proper to enter them except  
 (4) In fear'. <sup>1</sup> This blessed and auspicious mosque was (constructed) in  
 (5) The reign of Sultān Shihābu'd-Dīn Muḥammad Ṣāhib  
 (6) Qirān-i-Thānī Shāh Jahān Bādshāh Ghāzī,

1. *Qur'ān*, Chapter II, part of verse 114. The Quranic text must be preceded by *Basmala*, which is surprisingly absent here.



(7) May the Exalted Allāh perpetuate his kingdom, by the salve, the dust of feet of the derwīshes

(8) Fīrūshah son of 'Alāwal, with the surname ('urf) Rāthod on the date,

(9) The day of 'Īdu'l-Fiṭr (i.e. 1<sup>st</sup> Shawwāl) year (A.H.) 1066, six sixty and one thousand (13 July 1656 A.D.). Its writer is Qādī 'Abd al.... (?).

As in the case of their counterparts in most of the records under study, no information is available about the builder or the scribe. It may be noted that the name of the builder is Fīrūshah and not Fīrūzshah as has been read in the *Annual Report on Indian Epigraphy*.<sup>1</sup> Of course it could be a corrupted form of Fīrūzshāh. It does not appear to be the scribe's or engraver's mistake as the rest of the epigraph unlike some other inscriptions studied in the preceding lines does not contain any spelling mistake. Moreover, the name Ferū or Pherū, is not unknown, it having been borne, as the medieval Indian history scholars know, by the mint-master of the Delhi Sultān 'Alāu'd-Dīn Khaljī, named Thākkur Pherū, whose treatise on coins has been published by Dr. Parmeshwar Lal Gupta.<sup>2</sup> Also, the name Pherūmal is current even today. Whether Ferū or Pherū is itself a corrupt form of Fīrūz or it is a word of indigenous origin, it is for the scholars of Sanskrit and Prakrit languages to say. But even if it be the former, it appears that in all probability the builder of the mosque in question called himself Ferūshah and not Fīrūzshah.

### **Inscription No. XXII from Jodhpūr**

The tablet bearing this inscription was earlier reported to have been built up into the east wall, on the north half of the slab built up behind a column<sup>3</sup>, and later on into the false-wall of the facade of the Ek Mīnār mosque in the Khadā Muḥalla of Jodhpūr city.<sup>4</sup>

The tablet measures 40 by 100 cm. and contains a 15-line text in Persian prose and verse<sup>5</sup> recording the construction of "this mosque" in the time of Abu'l-Muzaffar Sultān Shihābu'd-Dīn Muḥammad Ṣāhib Qirān-i-Thānī Shāh Jahān Bādshāh Ghāzī and

1. *AREp.*, 1964-65, No. D, 338.

2. *Journal of the Numismatic Society of India*, vol. XIX (Varanasi, 1957), pp.35-47.

3. In *AREp.*, 1955-56, No.D, 153 and *PMIR*, No.229; based as it was on a defective and not very good impression, received from the Superintendent, Western Circle, Baroda, its notice was incomplete.

4. *Ibid.*, 1981-82,C,180. This note is based on the impression prepared by the Office of the Superintending Epigraphist, Nāgpūr, which is complete and also quite clear.

5. *Ibid.*, does not take it to be in prose and verse.



وَمِنْ أَطْلَافِ مَنْ مَسَّحَ بِرَأْسِهِ  
 بِكَرْبَةِ الْمَسْجِدِ وَجَمْعٍ فِيهِ أَيْهَا  
 الْكَلْبُ الْيَتَامَى لَمْ يَكُنْ مَعَهُ  
 لَمْ يَكُنْ مَعَهُ بَعْدَ دَعْوَى مَنْ يَدْعُو  
 وَجَمْعٍ مِنْ شَيْءٍ إِنْ يَحْتَضِرُ  
 قِيَامُ الْمَسْجِدِ شَاءَ مَنْ شَاءَ  
 فَكُلُّهُ لَمْ يَكُنْ بَعْدَ الْهَاجِ  
 فَيُرْوَى أَنَّ مَذْهَبَ مَنْ يَدْعُو  
 رُوِيَ عَنِ النَّسَائِيِّ أَنَّ مَنْ يَدْعُو

Inscription from a mosque at Merta city, p. 55



that “this edifice” was built by Miyān Sundar in the name of God. It further gives in a couplet the date of the construction in words as one thousand sixty seven (A.H. 1067 = 1656-57 A.D.). It then reverts to prose and states that “six shops” are attached to the mosque evidently in endowment, for its maintenance and upkeep. It ends with an imprecation of divorce to any one, Hindu or Muslim, claiming ownership of the shops.

The style of writing is *Nasta’līq* with *Naskh* flourishes. The language, particularly of what I take to be a couplet, is rather faulty. It may be pointed out that the couplet recalls to mind almost similarly worded couplet giving the date in the Toda Rāi Singh Inscription studied above (No.II); here also the mistake *Ḥaḍrat* for *Hijrat* is repeated. The engraving is also faulty.

The text reads as under:

TEXT  
Plate XIII

- (۱) شد بنا این مسجد
- (۲) در زمان ابوالمظفر
- (۳) سلطان شهابد (کذا)
- (۴) الدین محمد صا
- (۵) حب قران ثا
- (۶) فی شاه جهان باد
- (۷) شاه غازی این عمارت
- (۸-۱۱) میان سندر کرده
- بیت؟) شد بنا حق معبود بعد از حضرت (کذا) یک ہزار شصت ہفت شد موجود
- (۱۲) این شش دوکان
- (۱۳) متعلق مسجد است
- (۱۴) ہر کسی کہ دعوی کند ہندو
- (۱۵) یا مسلمان اور اطلاق است

## TRANSLATION

- (1) This mosque was built
- (2) In the time Abu'l-Muzaffar
- (3) Sultān Shihāb-d (sic)
- (4) U'd-Dīn Muḥammad Ṣā-
- (5) Hib Qīrān-i-Thā-
- (6) Nī Shāh Jahān Bād-
- (7) Shāh Ghāzī (verse : lines 8-11: )
- (8-11) (Verse :) This edifice (by) Miyān Sundar, has been built in the name of the worshipped God.

After the Migration <sup>1</sup> (of Prophet) one thousand sixty seven (A.H. 1067=1656-57), it came into existence.

- (12) These six shops
- (13) Belong to the mosque.
- (14) Whoever lays claim (on it), a Hindu
- (15) Or a Muslim, (oath of) divorce be upon him.

The name of the builder, Miyān Sundar is quite interesting. It is difficult to say if it is his real name or a nick-name. Very probably it is the latter. Whatever it be, he is an obscure personality.

**Inscription No. XXIII from Merta City**

The slab bearing the last and twenty-third inscription of the present group is built up in the western wall, to the left of the central *mihrāb*, of the Jāmi' mosque of the Merta city.<sup>2</sup> The mosque is a structure of red sandstone, of sufficient architectural merit, being a copy, in particular, however faint, of the famous Shāh Jahān's Jāmi' mosque of Delhi in its design.

The inscriptional tablet measures 45 by 55 cm. and is slightly damaged. From the present shape thereof, which is inverted-arch shaped at the bottom, it appears as likely that the slab might have been used as an arch-shaped tablet which usually carries an epitaph on the headstone of a grave; this can be only ascertained this way or the

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1. The text has *Ḥaḍrat*, "His Holiness", instead of *Hijrat* "Migration" (of the Prophet Muḥammad from Makka to Madīna).  
 2. *AREp.*, 1962-63, D, 210; *PMIR*, No.340.



شد بنالیاں مسجد  
 عزمان اینها لطفا  
 سلطان شهاب  
 الدین محمد صاحب  
 حب قدان شا  
 فی شاه جهان  
 شاه غازی اللہ عارف  
 میل شد رگوشد بنا  
 م حقت معلود بعد از  
 حضرت یکم از شخص  
 هفت شد موجود  
 این شش در کان  
 متعلق محراب  
 هر کسی دعوی هنر  
 یا سلطان اعلی



other if the slab is dislodged and the reverse examined. In any case, the text has lost a few letters and words in the beginning and in the concluding part of the last three lines of its 8-line text as it appears thereon. This has resulted in loss of the year-part of the date.

The record is in Persian and engraved in relief in a fairly good *Naskh*, which displays a practiced hand. It will be noticed that the style of writing as well as the format resembles the diplomatic of an official order, in which the name of the king is mentioned at the left top instead of in the main text, the place where it properly belongs being left blank, as in line two here. It states that after the death of Rājā Sūraj Singh, the *pargana* of Merta passed into the fief (*jāgīr*) of the *wakīls* of the servants of the keeper of the world and conquerer of climes, *Shāh Jahān* (i.e. Agents of the emperor); in other words, it was annexed to the crown-lands. And Abū Muḥammad ‘Imād Murtaḍākhānī was appointed to hold the office (*khidmat*) here i.e. administer it. There were many Hindu unbelievers here and it did not have any place for the Friday prayers. Therefore, with the intention of earning merit, he constructed (this) Jāmi‘ Mosque, so that if and when a great saintly person (*buzurgī*) happened to pass by this place, through the grace of his esteemed visit, perhaps [this good deed of?] this sinful creature [might be approved?]. It also adds that *Shaikh* Tāj the *Majdhūb* had also accompanied the builder when he came here. The construction of the mosque took place on 29<sup>th</sup> Rabī‘ II (year lost).

The text reads as under:

TEXT

Plate X (b)

- (۱) شاه جهانى \* الله اكبر
- (۲) چون بعد فوت راجه سورجنگه پرگنه ميرته (كذا = ميرته) در جا گیر وکلای
- (۳) بندگان جهانبانی کشورستانی \* شد بنده ابو محمد عماد مر تضى خانى
- (۴) را خدمت اينجاى تعين نمودند از مدت بسيار اينجا هندوانه و كفار بود
- (۵) برای نماز جمعه جائے نداشته بنا بران بنيت ثواب مسجد جامع راست ساخته که اگر
- (۶) [زما] نى عبور بزرگی اينجا شود از طفيل قدام (كذا = اقدام) عظام ايشان شايد که اين عاصی
- (۷) ..... گردد شيخ تاج مجذوب هم همراه بنده آمده بودند همدرين [شهر] که
- (۸) ..... [تحریر] انى التاريخ ۲۹ شهر ربيع الثانى.....

## TRANSLATION

(1) Allāh is Great.

(2) When after the death of Rāja Sūraj Singh, the *pargana* of Merta passed into the fief of the *Wakīls* (Agents)

(3) Of the servants (i.e. His Majesty) the keeper of the world, the conqueror of the climes *Shāh Jahānī* i.e. of *Shāh Jahān* <sup>1</sup>, the servant Abū Muḥammad ‘Imād Murtaḍākhānī

(4) Was appointed to the charge (*khidmat*) of this place. For a long time, here there was (the land of ) Hindus and unbelievers ;

(5) For the Friday prayers, it had no place. Consequently, with the intention of (obtaining) merit (*thawāb*) in the next world, he constructed the Jāmi‘ Mosque so that if

(6) Some times, a great man <sup>2</sup> happens to pass by this place, through the blessings of his feet (i.e. visit), endowed with majesty (i.e. blessed and majestic visit), perhaps, this sinful creature

(7) Is (compensated ?). *Shaikh* Tāj Majdhūb <sup>3</sup>

(8) Also came along with this servant in this city. .... . Written on the date 29<sup>th</sup> of the month of Rabī‘ II, (year A.H.) .....

About the identity of the builder, we are unable to say anything with certainty. However we come across one Abū Muḥammad Kambū as being exalted with a *manṣab*, with original and increase, of 1,000 *dhāt* and 800 *sawār* on the 17<sup>th</sup> Muḥarram A.H. 1040 (26 August 1631 A.D.). <sup>4</sup> He finds mention there only as Abū Muḥammad, which is strictly speaking a *kunya* (patronym). On the other hand, the inscription under notice mentions him as Abū Muḥammad ‘Imād. Very likely, here Abū Muḥammad is used as the name proper, as was not uncommon and ‘Imād was intended to be his father’s name. Also, the omission of his caste-name Kambū is not unusual in view of his *nisba* Murtaḍākhānī appended to the name. Abū Muḥammad Kambū’s *manṣab* also points to the very likelihood of the builder, who was appointed to the charge of a *pargana*, being identical with him.

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1. In the manner of *farmāns*, etc., the name of the emperor is written instead of in the body of the text, on the top left side.
  2. *Buzurgī* in the text literally means ‘a great man,’ a worthy, etc.’ It is generally used for a saintly person.
  3. *Majdhūb* is one who, drawn by divine grace, renounces all worldly concerns.
  4. Begley and Desai, *op.cit.*, I,p.126; *Shaikh* Farīd Bhakkarī, *op.cit.*,pp.307-08; *Shāh* Nawāz Khān, *op.cit.*, I,pp.650-51.



His *nisba* Murtaḍākhānī shows that he was a retainer of Murtaḍā Khān. During Shāh Jahān's noblemen, who bore the title Murtaḍā Khān, one is Mīr Ḥusāmu'd-Dīn son of Mīr Jamālu'd-Dīn Injū Shīrāzī – the latter, the noblemen under Akbar and Jahāngīr and the famous author of the Persian dictionary *Farhang-i-Jahāngīrī* – who had received the title in the first regnal year on 22<sup>nd</sup> Rabī' 1037 (26 May 1628) and the governorship of Thatta where he died in the beginning of Rabī' I 1039 (October 1629) in the second regnal year of the emperor. On his death, the title was conferred on Sayyid Nizām son of Ṣadr-i-Jahān of Pihānī and was held by him until his retirement, due to old age in the 24<sup>th</sup> regnal year on 5<sup>th</sup> Dhi'l-Qa'da 1060 (30 October 1650 A.D.). Sayyid Murtaḍā Khān was on duty in Deccan campaign or in Baiswārā region of Uttar Pradesh near his native place.<sup>1</sup> It appears more likely that Abū Muḥammad 'Imād was attached to the former and after his death entered royal service when he might have been posted to Merta city which is nearer Sindh. This is also in a way corroborated by the time of the appointment of Abū Muḥammad 'Imād in Merta. Unfortunately as stated above, the year of the inscription is lost and hence the exact time of his posting at Merta cannot be known.

The inscription also furnishes the information that the *pargana* Merta had passed on into crown-lands on the death of Rāja Sūraj Singh. Rāja Sūraj Singh is very likely Rāja Sūraj Singh Rāthod, son of Motā Rāja of Jodhpūr of which Merta formed part. He died while serving in the Deccan campaign in the 14<sup>th</sup> regnal year of Jahāngīr in A.H. 1028 (1619 A.D.).<sup>2</sup> If this identification is correct, then the Merta *pargana* would have been annexed to the crown-lands in or after that year. But Abū Muḥammad's appointment took place after the accession of Shāh Jahān. This is somewhat inexplicable. Any way, Abū Muḥammad seems to have been very likely posted in Merta immediately after Shāh Jahān's accession in A.H. 1037 (1628 A.D.).

In conclusion, I acknowledge with most sincere thanks the assistance I have received from Dr. M.I. Quddūsī, Superintending Epigraphist and his colleagues particularly Mr. S.S. Ḥussain and Dr. G.S. Khwāja who took the trouble of supplying references from gazetteers, etc., required by me at considerable cost of time and effort.

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1. Begley and Desai, *op.cit.*, II,332;III,111;IV,68,155,etc.; Shaikh Farīd Bhakkarī, *op.cit.*,pp.242-43; Shāh Nawāz Khān, *op.cit.*,II,pp.316-18.
  2. For an account of his career, see Shāh Nawāz Khān, *op.cit.*,II,pp.916-17.

# INSCRIPTIONS OF SHAH JAHAN FROM DIFFERENT STATES

By A. A. Kadiri

I propose to study here, six inscriptions of Shāh Jahān, collected from different states of India, viz., Madhya Pradesh, Haryāna, Punjāb, West Bengāl and Karnātaka. I have a debt of grātitude to Dr. M. Ilyās Quddūsī, Director (Epigraphy), Archaeological Survey of India, Nāgpūr, for giving me this opportunity. These records range in their dates from A.H. 1045 (1635-36 A.D.) to A.H. 1065 (1655-56 A.D.) and contain the names of Ḥasan, Deb Dās Dehlawī, Rāi Todar Mal, Jogi Dās Shiqdār, Tāj Khān, Shāh Shujā Bahādur and his agents, and 'Abdu'l-Ḥamīd, son of Bahlūl Khān. Nothing could be gleaned from contemporary chronicles about these personages, except Rāi Todar Mal and Prince Shāh Shujā Bahādur's governorship of Bengāl up to his asylum in Arākān.

## Inscription No.1 from Vidisha, Madhya Pradesh

The earliest record in this group is from Vidisha <sup>1</sup> '23° 30' North Latitude and 77° 50' East Longitude) in the taluk and district of the same name in Madhya Pradesh. It is engraved in a loose slab lying in the Block Development Office. <sup>2</sup> It contains a text of four lines of Persian and the fifth line is in Persian prose and seems to record that in the reign of Shāh Jahān, one Sayyid Ḥasan constructed a rest-house for the travellers in

The text reads as under:

TEXT

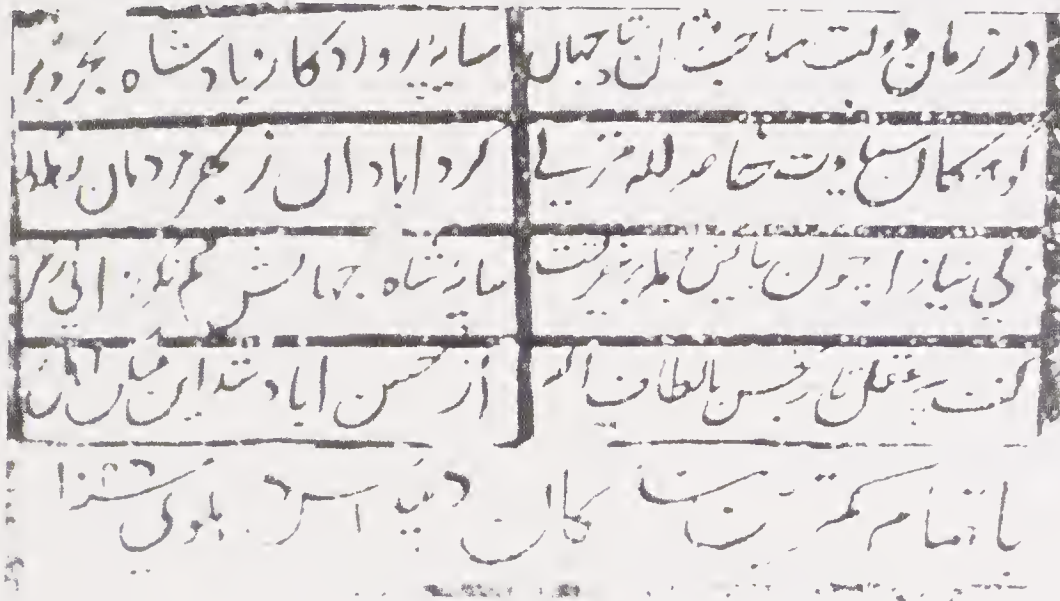
Plate XIV(a)

- (۱) در زمان دولت صاحب قراں شاه جهان سایه پروردگار و بادشاه بحر و بر  
(۲) گوهر کان سیادت خاصه لہ منزلے کرد آبادان ز بہر مردمان رنگرز  
(۳) بی نیاز چون بنایش جملہ بر خیر گشت سایہ شاہ جهان کم نہ گردانی ز سر  
(۴) گفت پیر عقل تار بخش ز الطاف الہ از حسن آباد شد این مسکن اہل سفر  
(۵) باہتمام کمترین بندگان دیدہ اس دہلوی ۱۰۴۵ھ

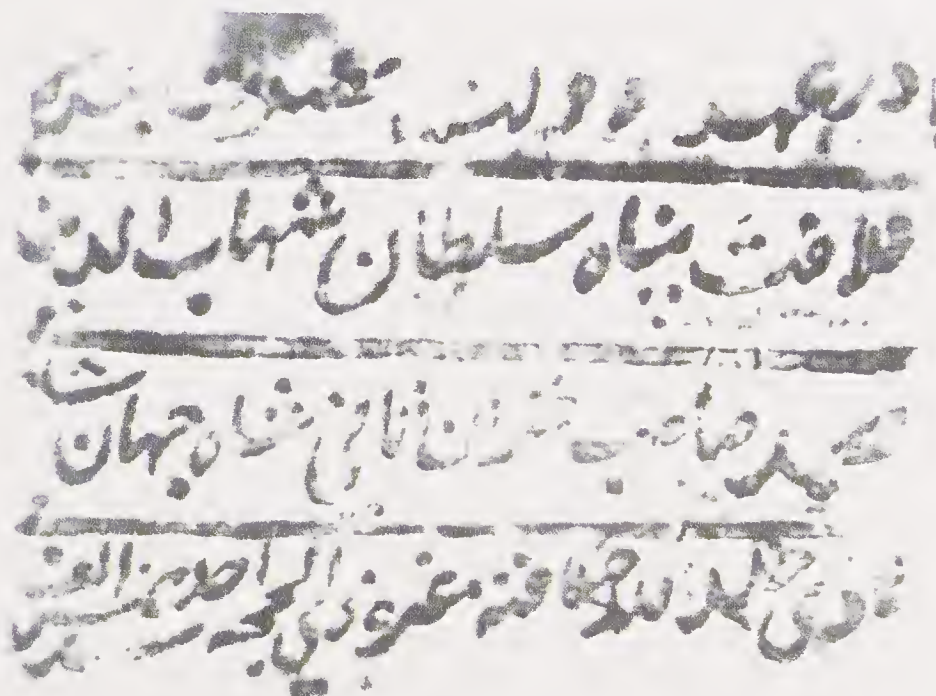
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1. For its history see, M.I. Quddūsī, 'Vidisha: A Place Name', *Studies in Indian Place Names*, vol. XIX, 1998, pp.42-46.
  2. *AREp.*, 1958-59, No. D-80.

INSCRIPTIONS OF SHAH JAHAN FROM DIFFERENT STATES

PLATE XIV



(a) Inscription from Vidisha, p. 62



(b) Inscription from Māham, p. 63





A.H. 1045 (1635-36 A.D.) under the supervision of the most humble of servants, Debdās Dehlawī.

#### TRANSLATION

(1) During the reign of Shāh Jahān, the lord of auspicious conjunction, the shadow of the Nourisher and the King of the land and the sea,

(2) The essence of the mine of leadership, constructed a house especially for the sake of Allāh for the travelers.

(3) O Independent One ! Since its construction is entirely based on liberality, do not diminish the shadow of the king of the world from its head.

(4) The old man of reason, due to the favours of Allāh said for its date, “This residence of travellers was constructed by Ḥasan” (which yields) A.H. 1045 (1635-36 A.D.).

(5) Under the supervision of the meanest of servants Deb Dās Dehlawī, in the year (A.H.) 1045 (1635-36 A.D.).

#### Inscription No.II from Māham, Haryana

The second record of this group is fixed on the south wall of the Pīrzādon-kī-Masjid at Māham, in the Gohana tahsil of Rohtak district of Haryana.<sup>1</sup> It contains four lines of Persian prose carved in relief in *Nasta'liq* characters and refers to the (construction of some building) in the reign of the support of caliphate, the sultān, Shihābud Dīn Muḥammad Ṣāhib Qirān-i-Thānī Shāh-Jahān Bādshāh Ghāzī, on the 1<sup>st</sup> of Dhil-Ḥijja A.H. 1051 (21<sup>st</sup> February 1642 A.D.). The object of construction is most The inscriptional slab measures 25 × 20 cm and the text has been read as under :

#### TEXT

#### *Plate XIV(b)*

(۱) در عهد دولت حضرت بندگان [ن]

(۲) خلافت پناه سلطان شهاب الدین

(۳) محمد صاحب قران ثانی شاه جهان بادشاه

(۴) غازی غلد الله خلافت غره ذی الحجه سنه احد و خمسين الف

1. *AREp.*, 1963-64, No. D-300.

probably the Pīrzādon-kī-Masjid, which was constructed by Shaikh Nāsir, son of Shaikh Ilahdād Māhamī, as mentioned by another published (without plate) record in the same place.<sup>1</sup>

#### TRANSLATION

- (1) During the time of reign of His Majesty,
- (2) The asylum of caliphate, Sultān Shihābud Dīn
- (3) Muḥammad Ṣāhib Qirān-i-Thānī Shāh-Jahān Bādshāh Ghāzī,
4. May Allāh perpetuate his caliphate. On the 1<sup>st</sup> of Dhil-Hijja of the (Hijra) year one thousand and fifty one (21<sup>st</sup> February 1642 A.D.).

#### Inscription No.III from Bhatinda, Punjab

The third record of this group, is from the Dargāh of Bābā Ratan at Bhatinda<sup>2</sup>, taluk in the district of the same name in Punjāb. It consists of six lines of Persian prose carved in relief in ordinary *Nasta'liq* characters, on a slab measuring 42 × 60 cm. It records that the tomb was white-washed during the time of *wizārat* (ministership) of Rāi Todar Mal under the supervision of Jogī Dās, the *Shiqdār*, on the 1<sup>st</sup> of Dhil Hijja, R.Y.15(1052 A.H.) (10<sup>th</sup> February 1643 A.D.). Nothing could be gleaned from contemporary records about Jogī Dās, the *Shiqdār*, but Rāi Todar Mal can be certainly identified with Todar Mal Shāh Jahānī, who finds mention in the work *Munshaāt-i-Brahman*, by Chandra Bhān Brahman<sup>3</sup>, the noted poet and *munshī* under Shāh Jahān.

Professor Nabī Hādī in his stupendous work *Dictionary of Indo-Persian Literature*, provides sufficient detail about this well-known Mughal official under Shāh Jahān. He is worth being quoted here as under:

“Todar Mal Shāh Jahānī (d. unknown) was chief revenue officer of the Deccan provinces in the reign of Shāh Jahān. He prepared a manual that gave boundaries, area, and revenue income of all the twenty provinces constituting the Mughal Empire. There were details of expenditure incurred on the buildings of Agrā, Delhi and Kābul, including the budget of Shālamār gardens laid in Lahore and Kashmir. The author was one of the officials who controlled and sanctioned the finances drawn from imperial treasury towards the construction of Tāj Mahal, Delhi's Red Fort, and the Congregation

1. *Ibid.*, No.D-299; *Epigraphia Indica (EI)*, vol.II,p.151.

2. *AREp.*, 1963-64, No.D-283; Cunningham, XXIII, p.6.

3. Dr. Sayyid ‘Abdullāh, *Adabiyāt-i-Fārsī Mein Hinduon-kā-Hissa* (Delhi, 1943) p.77.

Mosque; and he knew the cost figures of every edifice raised during his time. The title of his work was *Dastūr-ul 'Amal-i-Todar Mal*".<sup>1</sup>

The text reads as under:

TEXT  
*Plate XV(a)*

(۱) اللہ  
(۲) درمئل وزارت  
(۳) رای تودرمل باہتمام  
(۴) جوگیداس شتقدار  
(۵) چونہ (؟) قلعی کردہ شد  
(۶) غرة ذی الحجہ ۱۵

TRANSLATION

- (1) Allāh.
- (2-3) During the ministership of Rāi Todar Mal, under the supervision of
- (4) Jogī Dās *Shiqdār*,
- (5) (The tomb) was white-washed.
- (6) On the 1<sup>st</sup> of *Dhil-Hijja* (R.Y.)15 (1052 A.H.) (10<sup>th</sup> February 1643 A.D.).

**Inscription No.IV from Hijli, West Bengal**

The next record of this group is fixed on the central *mihrāb* of the mosque at Hijli, in Contai sub-division of Medinipur district of West Bengal.<sup>2</sup> The slab measuring 55 × 44 cm. contains a text of five lines in Arabic prose carved in *Naskh* characters and two lines of Persian verse carved in relief in *Nasta'liq* characters. The Arabic text contains Quranic verses and a tradition of the Prophet about knowledge, while the versified Persian text records that the construction of the mosque was started in the reign of *Shāh Jahān*, the Second Lord of auspicious conjunction after the passage of one thousand fifty two years, after the migration of the Chosen (Prophet) and seek the date.

1. Nabī Hādī, *Dictionary of Indo-Persian Literature* (Delhi, 1995), pp. 597-98.

2. *AREp.*, 1975-76, No. D-271.

of completion in the name of the builder Tāj Khān (which yields) A.H. 1055 as is also given in figures.

The text has been read as under :

TEXT

*Plate XV(b)*

- (۱) بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم . اطيعوا  
 (۲) الله واطيعوا الرسول واولى الامر منكم  
 (۳) لا اله الا الله محمد رسول الله . قال النبي  
 (۴) عليه السلام انا مدينة العلم و سقفها ابوبكر  
 (۵) وجدارها عمرو وزينتها عثمان و بابها على  
 (۶) شددورثاني صاحبقران شاه جهان  
 ابتدا بناء مسجدكان بماند جاوداں  
 بعد پنجاه و هزار و دوز نقل مصطفی  
 جو تو سال اتمام از نام بانی تا تخان ۱۰۵۵ھ

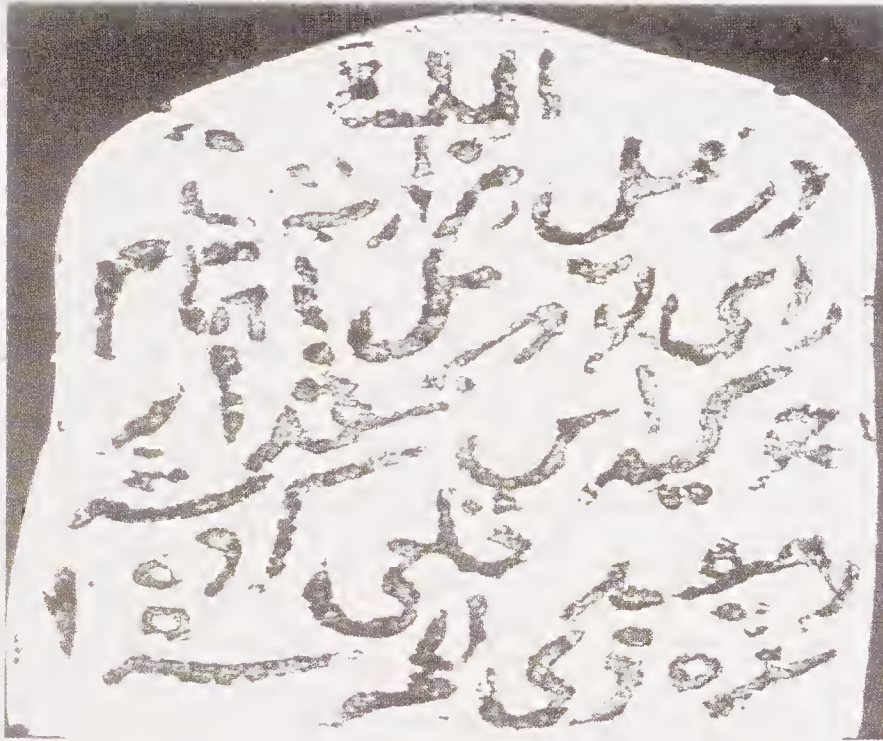
TRANSLATION

(1-5) In the name of Allāh, the Merciful, the Beneficent. “Obey God and obey the Apostle, and Those Charged with authority among you” (*Qur'ān*, Ch.IV, part of v.59). There is no God except Allāh, Muḥammad is the Prophet of Allāh. The Prophet, may peace be upon Him, said that “I am the city of knowledge and its ceiling is Abū Bakr and its wall is ‘Umar and its decoration is ‘Uthmān and its gate is ‘Alī.

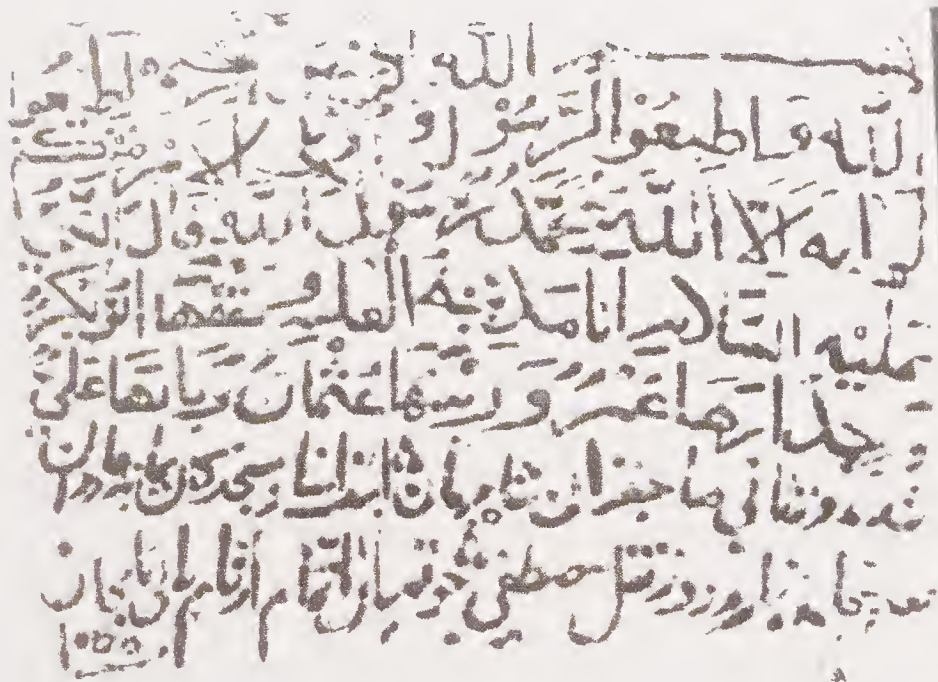
(6) The foundation of the mosque, which may remain forever, was laid in the reign of the Second Lord of auspicious conjunction, Shāh Jahān.

(7) After the passage of one thousand and fifty-two (years) (1642-43 AD) from the migration of the Chosen (Prophet), you seek the year of completion (in a chronogram) from the name of the builder Tāj Khān (yielding) A.H. 1055 (which is also given in figures) (1645-46 A.D.).





(a) Inscription from Bhatinda, p. 65



(b) Inscription from Hijli, p. 66



### **Inscription No.V from Nārāyengarh, West Bengal**

The fifth inscription of this group is on a loose slab originally from a mosque now kept in the house of a villager in Nārāyengarh village in Sadar sub-division of Medinipur district in West Bengal.<sup>1</sup> The rectangular slab measuring 24 × 45 cm contains six lines of Persian prose carved in relief in fair *Nasta'liq* characters. It records in a chronogram as well as in figures, the date of construction of a mosque by Muḥammad Shafī', the *Thānedār*, during the time of the agents of the chief Shāh Shujā' Bahādur in A.H.1065 (1564-65 A.D.).

We know that Prince Shāh Shujā' Bahādur, the second son of the emperor Shāh Jahān was made the governor of Bengāl on the last day of Shawwāl A.H. 1048 (5<sup>th</sup> March 1630 A.D.) and was dismissed to proceed to that province. He seems to have held the charge of Bengāl till Jumādā I, 1057 A.H. (June 1647 A.D.), when he was asked to proceed to Kābul.<sup>2</sup> In Rajab of the same year, Shāh Shujā' Bahādur was asked to stay at Kābul, till he learned that Prince Aurangzeb had safely crossed the passes of Hindūkush.<sup>3</sup> Shāh Shujā' Bahādur, arrived at court from Kābul on 22<sup>nd</sup> Muḥarram 1058 A.H. (17<sup>th</sup> February 1648 A.D.)<sup>4</sup> and was again dispatched to govern Bengāl as before on the 1<sup>st</sup> Ṣafar 1058 A.D. (26<sup>th</sup> February 1648 A.D.).<sup>5</sup> After the removal of Mu'tamid Khān from Orissa in Rajab 1058 A.H. (July-Aug. 1648 A.D.), Shāh Jahān conferred Orissa also on Prince Shāh Shujā' Bahādur, merging it with the Province of Bengāl, and it was put in charge of Jānī Beg by Shāh Shujā'.<sup>6</sup> In Jumādā I, 1061 A.H. (April –May 1651 A.D.), Jānī Beg, subjugated the territory of Hijli, a dependency of Orissa from its *Zamīndār*.<sup>7</sup> In Ramaḍān 1061 A.H. (September 1651 A.D.), Prince Shāh Shujā' Bahādur was ordered to head the expedition to Qandahār.<sup>8</sup> On 18<sup>th</sup> of Jumādā I, 1062 A.H. (27<sup>th</sup> April 1652 A.D.), Prince Shujā' Bahādur arrived at Kābul from Bengāl, being received by Amīru'l-Umarā Shāista Khān. Shujā' was conducted to the royal presence, accompanied by his third son Sulṭān-Buland Akhtar and presented a

1. *AREp.*, 1959-60, No.D-37.

2. *Shāh Jahān Nāma* of 'Ināyat Khān, translated & edited by Dr. W.E. Begley and Dr. Z. A. Desai (Delhi, 1996), p.384.

3. *Ibid.*, p.394.

4. *Ibid.*, p.404.

5. *Ibid.*, p.405.

6. *Ibid.*, p.411.

7. *Ibid.*, p.454.

8. *Ibid.*, p.459.



*nadhr* of 1000 gold mohurs. Shāh Jahān, raised the *manṣab* of Prince Shāh Shujā' Bahādur by an increase of 5000 *dhāt* and *sawār* to one of 20,000 *dhāt* 15,000 *sawār* of which 10,000 were *du aspa* and *seh aspa*.<sup>1</sup> On 24<sup>th</sup> Jumādā II, 1062 A.H. (2<sup>nd</sup> June 1652 A.D.), Prince Shāh Shujā' Bahādur's offering forwarded from Bengāl, consisting of gems etc. worth about 23 lakhs and 60,000 rupees reached the royal court at Qandahār.<sup>2</sup> After the abandonment of the reign of Qandahār on 14<sup>th</sup> of Sha'bān 1062 A.H. (21<sup>st</sup> July 1652 A.D.), Shāh Jahān lavished a robe of honour and valuable gifts on Prince Shāh Shujā' Bahādur, alongwith a donation of one crore of *dāms* from the revenue of Orissa and Hijli and granted permission to return to Bengāl.<sup>3</sup> In the month of Shawwāl 1065 A.H. (August 1655 A.D.) landed estates in the province of Orissa and Bengāl, yielding an annual revenue of one crore of *dāms*, were bestowed as present by Shāh Jahān, on Sultān Zain al-'Ābidīn, the eldest son of Prince Shāh Shujā' Bahādur.<sup>4</sup> During the celebration of 64<sup>th</sup> solar year of Shāh Jahān on 24<sup>th</sup> Rabī'I, 1066 A.H. (21<sup>st</sup> January 1656 A.D.), the offering of Prince Shāh Shujā' Bahādur, sent from Bengāl under the charge of Sultān Zain al-'Ābidīn, worth about six lakhs of rupees, reached the royal presence.<sup>5</sup> On 7<sup>th</sup> Dhi'l-Hijja 1067 A.H. (16<sup>th</sup> September 1657 A.D.), Shāh Jahān became seriously ill and turned over much of the management of the affairs of the state to Shāh Buland Iqbāl (Dārā Shikoh), requesting the nobles to pledge their loyalty to him. At this time, Shāh Buland Iqbāl, unwisely restrained his brother's agents at court and prevented direct communication with them, concerning Shāh Jahān's health and other matters, as a result false rumours circulated in various provinces. Apparently believing that Shāh Jahān was dead, Shāh Shujā' in Bengāl proclaimed himself Emperor, started issuing coins and ordered for reciting the *khutba* in his name.<sup>6</sup> On this, an army consisting of 20,000 cavalry and 2000 infantry was placed under the command of Sulaimān Shikoh and Mirzā Rāja Jai Singh and was dispatched to Bihār on 4<sup>th</sup> of Rabī' I, 1068 A.H. (10<sup>th</sup> December 1657 A.D.).<sup>7</sup> On 26<sup>th</sup> Jumādā II, 1068 A.H. (31 March 1658 A.D.), news of the complete defeat of Shāh Shujā' at Bahādurpūr near Banāras, at the hands of the imperialistic forces and Sulaimān Shikoh and Mirzā Rāja Jai Singh was received at the court.<sup>8</sup> Owing to the situation which had developed

1. *Shāh Jahān Nāma* of 'Ināyat Khān, p.467.

2. *Ibid.*, p.469.

3. *Ibid.*, p.473.

4. *Ibid.*, p.409.

5. *Ibid.*, p.513.

6. *Ibid.*, p.545.

7. *Ibid.*

8. *Ibid.*, p.547.



in Gujarat and the Deccan, an urgent message was sent to victorious imperial forces in Bihār, ordering them to arrange truce with Shāh Shujā' who was to be granted the territories of Bengāl, Orissa and part of Bihār, on condition that he returns to his seat at Rājmaḥal. This treaty was not finally negotiated until the 14<sup>th</sup> of Sha'bān 1068 A.H. (17<sup>th</sup> May 1658 A.D.)<sup>1</sup> Dārā Shikoh started recruiting about 20,000 cavalry on reaching Lāhorē on 12<sup>th</sup> of Shawwāl 1068 A.H. (13<sup>th</sup> July 1658 A.D.) and wrote a letter to Shāh Shujā' in Bengāl offering to divide the empire between them selves after the defeat of Aurangzeb.<sup>2</sup>

At this time of his coronation on 1<sup>st</sup> Dhī'l-Qa'da 1068 A.H. (1<sup>st</sup> July 1658 A.D.), the new Emperor Aurangzeb 'Ālamgīr had sent letters to Shāh Shujā' in Bengāl, promising to fulfil all his wishes, once the elder brother Dārā Shikoh is disposed off.<sup>3</sup> The ambitious Shāh Shujā', distrustful of these pledges, in turn advanced to Patna, made it his base and collected about 25,000 cavalry in preparation for making an advance towards Akbarābād, while Aurangzeb was busy in pursuing Dārā Shikoh in Punjāb. Therefore, early in Ṣafar 1069 A.H. (early Nov. 1658 A.D.) Shāh Shujā' left Patna and marched westward towards Rohtās, Chunār and Banāras, all of which places were into his hands, reaching Allahābād on 7<sup>th</sup> Rabī'II, 1069 A.H. (22<sup>nd</sup> January 1659 A.D.) where he drove the small force under Khān Daurān besieging Allahābād Fort. Earlier on hearing about Shāh Shujā''s advance from Bengāl, Aurangzeb left the pursuit to his officer and hurried back to Shāhjahanābād on 12<sup>th</sup> Muḥarram 1069 A.H. (10<sup>th</sup> October 1658 A.D.). Aurangzeb sent message to Akbarābād, to his son Muḥammad Sultān on 4<sup>th</sup> Rabī' I 1069 A.H. (30<sup>th</sup> Nov. 1658 A.D.) to set out immediately with a strong force and proceed to Allahābād to reinforce Khān Daurān.<sup>4</sup> The force under Muḥammad Sultān, reached Khajua, three stages west of Allahābād and thus were able to bear the way to Shāh Shujā', who reached the place on 4<sup>th</sup> of Rabī' II, 1069 A.H.<sup>5</sup> (9<sup>th</sup> January 1659 A.D.). Around this time, Aurangzeb himself joined Muḥammad Sultān and soon after the great general Mu'azzam Khān came from Deccan and joined Aurangzeb's service four days later, the combined forces of Aurangzeb, planned their strategy and on 19<sup>th</sup> Rabī' II, 1069 A.H. (14<sup>th</sup> January 1659 A.D.) marched ahead to meet the army of Shāh Shujā', but halted about half a *kos* away. In spite of Rāja Jaswant

1. *Shāh Jahān Nāma* of 'Inayat Khan., p.548.

2. *Ibid.*, p.555.

3. *Ibid.*, p.556.

4. *Ibid.*

5. *Ibid.*, p.557.

Singh's defection, the previous evening, Aurangzeb led his army to victory. Shāh Shujā' fled towards Bengāl, closely followed by Mu'azzam Khān and Muḥammad Sultān. When Shāh Shujā' reached Monghyr on his way to Bengāl, he made an unsuccessful stand against his pursuers. At this time, Allah Wardī Khān from the army of Shujā' made an attempt to defect and was beheaded by Shujā' for his breachery, on 21<sup>st</sup> of Rajab 1069 A.H. (14<sup>th</sup> April 1659 A.D.). Shāh Shujā' left Rājmaḥal, crossed the Ganges and encamped on the other bank. On hearing of the evacuation of Rājmaḥal, Aurangzeb's forces marched upon it and took it on 30<sup>th</sup> of Rajab 1069 A.H. (23<sup>rd</sup> April 1659 A.D.).<sup>1</sup> In spite of the greater familiarity of Shāh Shujā' with the military operations by boat, the shrewd Mu'azzam Khān had out-manoeuvred him on two occasions, but an attack on the entrenchment of Shāh Shujā', misfired and a sizeable contingent of the imperial army was lost on 20<sup>th</sup> of Sha'bān 1069 A.H. (13<sup>th</sup> May 1659 A.D.). Around this time Muḥammad Sultān being resentful of the domination of Mu'azzam Khān, began secret correspondence with Shāh Shujā' and on the night of 28<sup>th</sup> Ramaḍān 1069 A.H. (19<sup>th</sup> June 1659 A.D.) he left the imperial camp and crossed over to the other side.<sup>2</sup> Muḥammad Sultān's defection caused great consternation in the imperialist camp and on hearing it Aurangzeb immediately set out for Allahābād. Being emboldened by this defection, Shāh Shujā', took offensive for the first time and braving heavy monsoon rains recaptured Rājmaḥal on 13<sup>th</sup> of Dhi'l-Hijja 1069 A.H. (1<sup>st</sup> September 1659 A.D.).<sup>3</sup> Aurangzeb had already dispatched Dā'ūd Khān to support Mu'azzam Khān, ordering him to advance from Patna, along the southern bank of Ganges. On hearing of the arrival of Dā'ūd Khān, Shāh Shujā', beat a hasty retreat on 20<sup>th</sup> Rabī' II, 1070 A.H. (4<sup>th</sup> January 1660 A.D.) and Rājmaḥal once again fell into the hands of the imperial army on 8<sup>th</sup> Jumādā I, 1070 A.H. (21<sup>st</sup> January 1660 A.D.).<sup>4</sup> After this, Muazzam Khān made preparations for mounting an invasion of the eastern bank of the Ganga in company with Dā'ūd Khān. By crossing the Ganga above Rājmaḥal, Muazzam Khān planned to converge on Malda by making a wide detour the Prince's line of defences, which stretched from Rājmaḥal to Tanda (near Gaur). Realising the

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1. *Shāh Jahān Nāma* of 'Ināyat Khān, p561.

2. *Ibid.*, p.562.

3. *Ibid.*

4. *Ibid.*

imminent defeat of Shāh Shujā', Muḥammad Sultān returned to Mu'azzam's camp on 6<sup>th</sup> Jumādā II, 1070 A.H. (18<sup>th</sup> February 1660 A.D.) and was, subsequently imprisoned at Gwalior for fourteen years by Aurangzeb. The desertion of Muḥammad Sultān greatly demoralized Shāh Shujā' and Mu'azzam Khān made a major attack on his entrenchment on 4<sup>th</sup> Sha'bān 1070 A.H. (15<sup>th</sup> April 1660 A.D.) effecting a breakthrough which caused Shāh Shujā' to retreat in great confusion, leaving much of his property to be either looted or confiscated. Shujā' himself fled to Dacca <sup>1</sup>, reaching that place on 11<sup>th</sup> Sha'bān 1070 A.H. (22<sup>nd</sup> April 1660 A.D.), he sent urgent messages for help to the ruler of Arākān. But Shujā' decided not to wait for help and set off down the river in boats, alongwith his family and few faithful followers on 6<sup>th</sup> Ramaḍān 1070 A.H. (11<sup>th</sup> May 1660 A.D.). After making a futile attempt to gain possession of the fort of Bhallua, Shāh Shujā' was refused further help by Arākān commander, despatched from Cheagong, who advised Shujā' to return with him to asylum in Arākān. Realising his fate, Shujā' preferred the hospitality of Arākān pirates and sailed from Bengāl towards Arākān on 12<sup>th</sup> Ramaḍān 1070 A.H. (22<sup>nd</sup> May 1660 A.D.), never to return again. <sup>2</sup>

## TEXT

*Plate XVI(a)*

(۱) هو

(۲) در عهد و کلا سرکار

(۳) شاه شجاع بهادر

(۴) محمد شفیع تهمانه دار

(۵) این مسجد را بنا کرد

(۶) و تاریخ اتمام مسجد دلپذیر

(۷) یافته شد ۱۰۶۵

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1. *Shāh Jahān Nāma* of 'Ināyat Khān, p.562.

2. *Ibid.*



## TRANSLATION

- (1) He is [Allāh].
- (2) During the time of the agents of the Chief,
- (3) Shāh Shujā' Bahādur,
- (4) Muḥammad Shafī', the *Thānedār*
- (5) Constructed, this mosque.
- (6) And the date of completion was found in (a chronogram) with the "heart-attracting mosque", (which yields 1053 A.H.). In the year 1065 A.H.

**Inscription No.VI from Chincholi, Karnataka**

The last inscription of this group is found on a loose slab in Chincholī village of Gulbarga district in Karnāṭaka.<sup>1</sup> The slab measuring 34 × 37 cm contains four lines of Persian verse carved in relief in *Nasta'liq* characters. It records that the lord of auspicious conjunction (i.e.) Shāh Jahān, is liberal and magnanimous towards 'Abdu'l-Ḥamīd, son of Bahlūl Khān. When the fort attained the dignity (of being administered) during his time the year was one thousand and sixty six (A.H. 1066 = 1655-56 A.D.).

## TEXT

*Plate XVI(b)*

- (۱) سخی وشجاع اند صاحب قران
- (۲) به عبد الحمید ابن بهلول خاں
- (۳) چو در دوروی شد قلعه پر شرف
- (۴) سنه بود ست و ستین و الف

## TRANSLATION

- (1) The lord of auspicious conjunction (i.e.) Shāh Jahān is liberal and magnanimous,
- (2) To 'Abdu'l-Ḥamīd, son of Bahlūl Khān.
- (3) During his time, when the fort attained the dignity (of being administered by him),
- (4) The year was one thousand and sixty-six (A.H. 1066 = 1655-56 A.D.).

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1. *AREp.*, 1958-59, No. D-81.



هو  
در و کلا اسکرا  
شاه شجاع پسر  
محمد شفیق تماره  
این سجد را بسکرا  
قانع انجام سجده  
یا نشسته

(a) Inscription from Nārāyāgarh, p. 71

مخبر و شجاع پسر  
عبدالمجید پسر  
محمد در و کلا  
سجده بود

(b) Inscription from Chincholi, p. 72



# INSCRIPTIONS OF AURANGZEB FROM KANCHIPURAM

By Dr. G.S. Khwaja

The city of Kanchipuram or Conjeevaram famous world-over for elegant silk *saris* also has got historical importance for more than one reasons. Apart from a large number of inscriptions in Sanskrit and Dravidian languages Kanchipuram has yielded seven Persian inscriptions which were discovered during my official tour of this place in 1988. In this article I propose to study some of these inscriptions which, I am sure, will add new pieces of information to the medieval history of this region, specially the history of annexation of this region to Mughal Empire.

Kanchipuram the Headquarters of the taluk and district of the same name in Tamil Nadu situated in 12° 51' northern latitude & 79° 42' eastern longitude about 72 km. west-south-west of Chennai city, is a flourished city enjoying the status of pilgrimage as well as business centre for silk fabrics<sup>1</sup>. In early Tamil literary works and epigraphs Kanchipuram is referred to as Kacci, Kacepedu, Kanci, Kancinagar, Kancimanagar and Kancipuram<sup>2</sup>. During the British occupation it was corrupted to Conjeevaram.

The ancient city of Kanchipuram enjoys the status of one of the holiest palces in south India and accounted fore-most among the seven sacred cities of India according to the Hindu belief<sup>3</sup>. Kanchupuram came to political lime-light under the Pallavas who made it capital and sown the seeds of south Indian art and architecture, during their rule from circa 315 to early 10<sup>th</sup> Century A.D., and fortified the city with ramparts, moats etc<sup>4</sup>.

Cholas, the master-builders of temples further developed the art and architecture during their sway from 10<sup>th</sup> to 13<sup>th</sup> Century A.D.<sup>5</sup>. The weakness of later Cholas and attack by Malik Kāfūr helped Muslims establishing their rule on it for a short period. But again after passing through the hands of feudatories it was possessed by Vijaynagar Kings from 14<sup>th</sup> to 17<sup>th</sup> Century A.D. and soon after the decline of Vijaynagar Kings, Marathas rose to power and then in quick succession entered the mighty Mughals who had control down the 18<sup>th</sup> Century A.D., over this city which was made Headquarters of

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1. *Imperial Gazetteer of India*. Vol. X (Oxford, 1908) p. 377

2. T.V. Mahalingam – *Kancipuram In Early South India History* (Bombay, 1969) p.4

3. *Ibid.*

4. *Ibid.*, pp. 33, 215 & 230; C.R.Srinivasan – *Kanchipuram Through The Ages* (Delhi, 1979) p.280

5. *Ibid.*, p. 281

a *haveli* & *sarkār* of the same name (i.e. Kanchi) in the province of Karanatakī Ḥaiderābād<sup>1</sup>.

As per the description given in a Persian chronicle of early 19<sup>th</sup> Century, the city of Kanchipuram had a sizeable number of Muslim settlers with nine mosques, one tomb of Ḥadrat Ḥamīd Aulīyā, sixty Hindu temples, forty *mandapas*, twenty two *peths* (small markets) and two hundred shops among other constituents of the city<sup>2</sup>. The Persian inscriptions copied from this place are found on different sites e.g. one at Jāmi' Mosque, one at 'Īdgāh, two from an old market place called Shaikh Peth, two from a mosque in Walī Muḥammad Peth and one from an another mosque<sup>3</sup>. Of these only three Persian records of the period of Mughal Emperor Aurangzeb are being dealt with in this article.

### Inscription No. I Dated A.H. 1116 (1704-05 A.D.)

The first inscription in this series is from 'Īdgāh located near a rice-mill at the extreme western end of the city<sup>4</sup>. The arch shaped inscriptional slab fixed above the central *mīhrāb* measures 70 cm. perpendicularly in height at the crest and 160 cm. in width. The text comprising five Persian couplets with few words in prose, arranged in four horizontal lines, is executed in beautiful relief Thulth characters. It is read as follows:

#### TEXT

#### Plate XVII

۱. الله	بعصر شهنشاه اورنگ زیب	شده صوبه نواب داؤد خاں محمد
۲. که شد پایه کفر از وی تباہ	که اقبال او عالمی را پناه	
۳. یا کافی بدیں محکم شیخ اسلام ساخت	خدا یادش خیر هر دو سرا	چو عینی بدل جست سال بناش کاتبه محمد
۴. مبارک بنای زبهراله	که خلق خدا راست او خیر خواه	بگفتا مرتب شدیں عیدگاه حسین

۱۱۱۶

1. *Ibid.*, pp.281-283; T.V. Mahalingam – *op.cit.*, p.216; Irfan Habib – *An Atlas of Mughal Empire* (Delhi, 1982) p. 64, Sheet 16A.
2. Ghulam 'Abdul-Qadir Nazir – *Bahar-i-A'zam Jahi* (Madras, 1961) pp. 203-04.
3. *Annual Report on India Epigraphy (AREp.)*, 1988-89, Appendix C, Nos. 153-59.
4. *Ibid.*, No. 153.



INSCRIPTIONS OF AURANGZEB FROM KANCHIPURAM

PLATE XVII



Inscription of Emperor Aurangzeb from 'Idgāh at Kanchipuram, p. 74



TRANSLATION <sup>1</sup>

1&2 Allah – During the reign of Emperor Aurangzeb, by whom the infidelity was uprooted. The province under Nawwāb Dāu'd Khān became, because of his auspices, the asylum of the world. – Muḥammad

3&4 Oh! -Sufficient – Shaikh Islām has strengthen the faith by laying this sacred foundation for God's sake. God may reward him in both the worlds as he was a well-wisher of His creature. When 'Ainī sought the date from his heart –“(It) uttered, this 'Īdgāh was constructed” –Scribed by Muḥammad Ḥusain. (A.H.) 1116 (1704-05 A.D.).

This record assigns the construction of an 'Īdgāh, during the reign of Emperor Aurangzeb and at the time of Nawwāb Dāu'd Khān, to one Shaikh Islām in A.H. 1116 (1704-05 A.D.). The verses are skillfully composed by 'Ainī to yield in the last hemistich, which forms a chronogram, the date of the construction of the 'Īdgāh. It is calligraphed by Muḥammad Ḥusain.

So far as identity of Dāu'd Khān, mentioned in the epigraph is concerned he is not an unknown figure in the history of Aurangzeb's reign. He was from Afghan stock, settled in Deccan and had a suffix of Pannī with his name. He was in the service of Bijapur Kingdom but after the fall of Bijapur in 1686 A.D., at the hands of Aurangzeb, joined the Mughal forces and carved out a prominent place among the other fellow Afghan officers. On merit he was raised gradually to the rank of 6000 men/6000 horses and was appointed deputy to Dhu'lfaqār Khān entitled Nuṣrat Jung, the Commander (*Faujdar*) of Karnātakī-Ḥaiderābād and took active part in the campaign of Jinji led by Dhu'lfaqār Khān from 1690 to 1698 A.D. In 1704 A.D he was governor of Haiderābād. In 1706 A.D. he took part in the siege of Vakimgarh<sup>2</sup>.

- 
1. For convenience of translation line 1 has been paired with that of line 2 and likewise the translation of line 3 with that of line 4.
  2. Muḥammad Saqi – *Maathir-i-'Alamgiri* (Calcutta, 1817) p. 483; Shahnawaz Khan – *Maathir-u'lUmara*, vol. II (Calcutta, 1890) p. 65; Bhimsen – *Tarikh-i-Dilkasha* – Tr. S.J. Sarkar (Bombay, 1972) p.221; *Ruk'at-i-'Alamgiri* –Tr. Jamshid M. Bilmoria (Delhi, 1972) Letter CLXIII, p.157 & f.n.5; *Tazkirat-u'l-Umara of Kewalram* – Tr. S.M. Azizuddin Ḥussain (Delhi. 1985) p.70; M. Athar 'Ali – *The Mughal Nobility under Aurangzeb* (New York, 1966) p. 219.

Unfortunately this inscription does not provide any clue about the status and career of Shaikh Islām, the builder, 'Ainī, the composer and Muḥammad Ḥusain the calligrapher. Even in historical works and other sources too any mention about these persons could not be traced.

**Inscriptions No. II & III Dated A.H. 1116 & 1117**  
**(1704 & 1705-06 A.D.)**

These two interesting inscriptions are executed on both the sides of a single slab buried in the ground, by the side of the metalled road called Shaikhpeth Street<sup>1</sup>. This slab with thick coat of red oxide and oil is worshipped by the city-dwellers as this stone is said to be possessed with the touch-and-go cure properties for common back-sprain and stiff-necks. The arch-shaped slab bears Persian inscriptions on its reverse as well as obverse side<sup>2</sup>. Ten line text in Persian prose engraved on obverse side in Nasta'liq characters measuring 104 cm. x 45 cm. and dated A.H. 1116 (1704-05 A.D.) has been deciphered as follows:

TEXT

*Plate XVIII (a)*

Obverse

۱. در خلافت خسرو دہلی گیتی ستاں
۲. سلطان اورنگ زیب عالم گیر
۳. غازی نایب امارت پناہ نواب
۴. داؤد خاں شیخ اسلام بنائے پینتہ نمود
۵. و نام اسلام پور نہاد و محصول ایں را
۶. بتصدق فرمبارک ظل سبحانے برای لنگر
۷. فقر امقرر نمود باید کہ یلا پلا تہلکری بمعہ اولاد
۸. محصول را گرد آوری نموده بفقر اخرج نماید
۹. ہر کسی کہ مانع باشد در لعنت خدا
۱۰. گرفتار گردد ۱۱۱۶ھ ہجری

1. *AREp.*, 1988-89, Appendix, C – No. 155-56.

2. These inscriptions have been dealt by the author of this article in a paper which was read at XVII Epigraphical Congress of Epigraphical Society of India held at Tamil University, Thanjavur in 1991.



## TRANSLATION

1. During the reign of the Great King of *Dihlī* (i.e. Delhi), the Conqueror of the World
2. Sultān Aurangzeb ‘Ālamgīr
3. Ghāzī, (during the time of) Deputy, the Asylum of Authority, Nawwāb
4. Dāu’d Khān, Shaikh Islām laid the foundation of a market
5. And christened it as Islāmpūr, and its revenue
6. As an alm dispensed for the auspicious head of the Shadow of God (i.e. King) for the free kitchen (*langar*) of
7. Poor has been fixed and Yellā Pullā Thalkarnī, with his progeny (*awlād*)
8. Will collect and spend the revenue for poor
9. Whosoever would resist, curse of God
10. He will be beset with, Year A.H. 1116 (1704-05 A.D.)

This inscription is quite clear in its purport recording the construction of a market during the reign of Emperor Aurangzeb and in the time of Nawwāb Dāu’d Khān the deputy (*nāi’b*) of the commander, by Shaikh Islām who also named the town after himself as Islāmpūr. The text further mentions about the appointment of one Yellā Pullā Thalkarnī along with his progeny (*awlād*) for the revenue collection (*girdāwarī*) and its disbursement for the free-kitchen of the poor (*fuqarā*) as alm dispensed for the head of the king. It ends with an imprecation for the one whosoever will resist. It is dated A.H. 1116 (1704-05 A.D.). Shaikh Islām the builder of the market is none other than the builder of ‘Īdgāh mentioned in the previous inscription<sup>1</sup>, who might have been a local official at the Headquarters of the *sarkār* of Kanchi.

This inscription is important from many aspects.

Firstly the rechristening of the town of Kanchipuram as Islāmpūr. This inscription is the only source to provide information about this renaming of the town under Mughal rule, which becomes important for the place-name history.

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1. *AREp.* 1988-89, Appendix C, No. 153

Secondly the mention of the post of *Thalkarnī* which is most uncommon post appeared so far in Perso-Arabic inscriptions. Thalkani, is a divisional accountant having duties identical to *Kulkarnī* (the village accountant) or *Patwārī* but with a wider jurisdiction upto the level of a district or division<sup>1</sup>.

Thirdly the order to collect the revenue from the market and spend it for free kitchen (*langar*) of poor reflects the taxation-based welfare policy of Emperor Aurangzeb for his subject. Here a little clarification while interpreting *fuqarā* (poor) will not be out of topic. The word *fuqarā* broadly covers emporor's Hindu subject too. My argument for this synthesis may be seen in the light of political history of the region. Kanchipuram had enjoyed a pivotal importance during the rule of Pallavas. Chalukiyas, Cholas, Hoysalas and other dynasties. Even under Vijayanagar Kings, Kanchipuram was having among other things, a fully developed trade of hand-woven silk fabric. A nourished town in the hands of Marathas, Kanchi was annexed to Mughal Empire after the fall of Jinji in 1698<sup>2</sup>. It enjoyed the status of Headquarters of *ḥaveḷī* and *sarkār* in the *ṣūba* of Ḥaiderābād<sup>3</sup>. Naturally at that juncture of political change the Hindu population of the town with different classes of society might have resorted to settle down here itself. The Mughal occupation added to it military officials, administrative staff, bureaucrats and obviously not a large number of general Muslim population. It means the term *fuqara* covered the poor class of the society in Kanchipuram also taking into account a sizeable number of Hindu subject including pilgrims to this holy city.

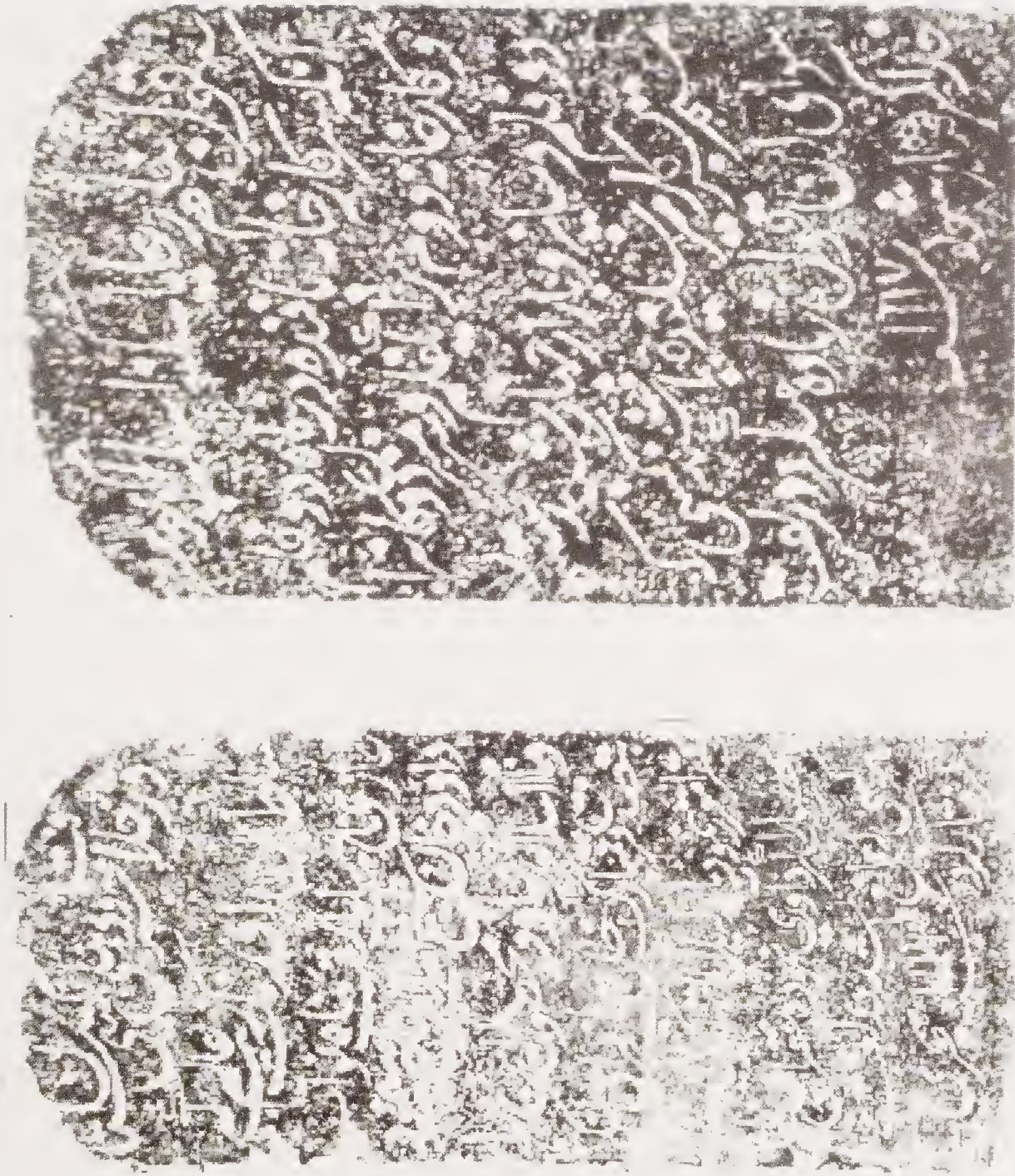
So this imposition of market taxes on the flourishing weaving industry and trade in the changed political situation reflects the healthy economical balance in the trade and tax infrastructure of the state on one hand and its direct link with the welfare of the poor class, comprising majority of Hindus, points towards the generosity of Emperor Aurangzeb on the other. This new light on the liberal policy of this monarch will be a face-lift and add a convincing glitter to his much tarnished image.

Appointment of Yellā Pullā Thalkarnī a local Hindu official, as *girdāwar* (tax-collector or tax inspector) again pin points on the guarding of the interest of Hindu poor

1. Dr. Yusuf Ḥusain Khān – *Farmans and Sanads of the Deccan Sultans* (Hyderabad, 1963) Note No. 33, p. 28
2. Muḥammad Saqi – *op.cit.*, p. 391; S.J. Sarkar – *History of Aurangzeb*, vol. V (Calcutta, 1924) p.76; C.K. Srinivasan- *Maratha Rule In The Carnatic* (Annamalai Nagar, 1944) p. 218-19
3. Irfan Ḥabib - *op.cit.*, p. 64



# PLATE XVIII



(a & b) Inscriptions on obverse and reverse sides of a slab in Shaikhpeth Market, at Kanchipuram, pp. 76&79





against any misuse or misappropriation of the revenue.

The third inscription of this study runs in seven lines of Persian prose engraved in Nasta'liq characters was executed on the reverse of the slab after a gap of one year i.e. in A.H. 1117 (1705-06 A.D.). The inscription measuring 55 cm x 40cm. has been read as under<sup>1</sup>.

# TEXT

## Plate XVIII (b)

### Reverse

۱. قول بنام رعایا سکنه اسلام پور
۲. آنکه سرکار خانہ بافندہ در ماه دو قلم
۳. و کار خانہ دویم را یک قلم و سر منزل دوکانرا
۴. دو قلم و سایر بازار چہار شنبہ بدستور
۵. مستمر بسرکار میرسانیدہ باشند کسی کہ
۶. سوای ایں قول زیادہ میگیرد در لعنت
۷. خدا گرفتار شود ۱۱۱۸

# TRANSLATION

1. Ordinance (*qaul*) issued to the subject, resident of Islāmpūr.
2. Is that, chief (or first grade) weaving industry (will pay) monthly two *falams*.
3. And second grade industry one *falam* and shops in the first row.
4. Two *falams* and cess of (weekly-market of) Wednesday remaining as it is
5. Will continue to reach the government (ex chequer) whosever
6. Collects more than the (specified in the) ordinance, curse
7. of God, he will be beset with. Year (A.H.) 1117 (1705-06 A.D.)

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1. *AREp.* 1988-89, Appendix C, No. 156

This epigraph is in fact an ordinance (*qaul*) in its character, issued to the subject of Islāmpūr and happens to be an annexure to the previous execution on the obverse side. The necessity of this second execution can easily be assumed. In response to the Emperor's previous order the traders might have evaded the taxes for want of a well-defined formula of taxation specifying the trade taxable, the rate, periodicity of tax and eligibility. This ordinance is a supplement to remove the lacuna of the first order and also specifies the taxation policy adopted by the government according to which the weaving industry and the outlets of their products were divided into two grades on the basis of their size or location and accordingly revenue was imposed on them in terms of *falams* (the medium of transaction prevalent in southern India) as under:

- a. *Sar Kārkhāna* (chief or first grade industry) which was supposed to produce larger quantum of woven fabrics was levied with a rate of two *falams* per month.
- b. *Kārkhāna-i-duwwam* (second grade industry) with comparatively smaller quantum of production was given concession of one *falam* and levied with a rate of one *falam* per month.
- c. Shops in the front row (*sar-manzil*) of the market, which were naturally able to attract greater cliental and turnover, were to pay two *falams* per month.

The *sāi'r* (cess) of Wednesday-market was maintained as per the previous practice. It was also categorically mentioned that whosoever, while remitting the above said revenue to the government exchequer, shows high handedness to extract more than the specified will invoke curse of God.

The use of *falams*<sup>1</sup> as a medium of transaction by the government particularly in this part of the dominion instead of any other coin circulated in the rest of the Mughal Empire hints at two things:

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1. *Falam* (or *Fanam*) was a small gold coin of southern India in ancient period which bore different legends and values during the times of Chalukyas, Cholas, Hoysalas, Vijaynagar Kings & Marathas. A variation in their weights was found by numismatists in different times. In 16<sup>th</sup> Century A.D. during the rule of Vijaynagar Kingdom, which was nearer to the Mughal rule, *Fanam* was bearing value as under:

1 *Fanam* = 1/10 *Partāb* = 1/20 *Varaha*.

*Varaha* weighted 50 to 52 grains and so *Fanam* 3 grains approximately. One *Fanam* was able to fetch 10 pomegranates in Vijaynagar City.

See N. Ramesan – *A Catalogue of the Vijaynagar Coins* (Hyderabad, 1962) p. 47 & 50;

Sir Walter Elliot – *Numismata Orientalia-Coins of Southern India* (Varanasi, 1970) p. 146.

One: A gesture to respect the prevalent medium of transaction, which in other words, might have made the revenue calculations easy for local traders as well as those coming from other territories, not included in the Mughal Empire where falams were in widespread circulation<sup>1</sup>.

Two: An economic measure to regulate the rate of revenue with the rise in the value of the precious metal to check the inflation or devaluation of money.

My deliberations on some of the points discussed in this article may not be a final verdict, even then, as a whole these inscriptions have added some dimension to the economic structure of Mughal administration throwing new light on social welfare policies of the Mughal Emperor Aurangzeb and his administrative officers.

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1. Sir Walter Elliot – *Numismata Orientalia-Coins of Southern India* (Varanasi, 1970) p. 146.





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